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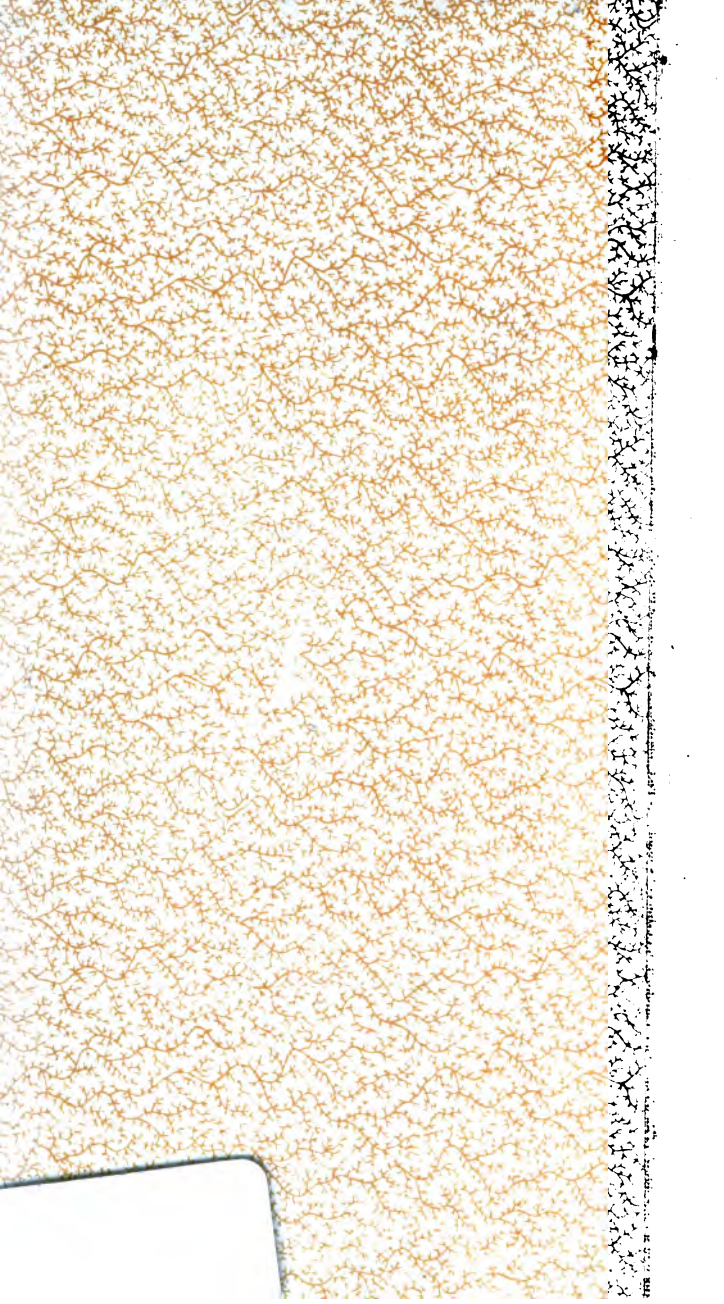
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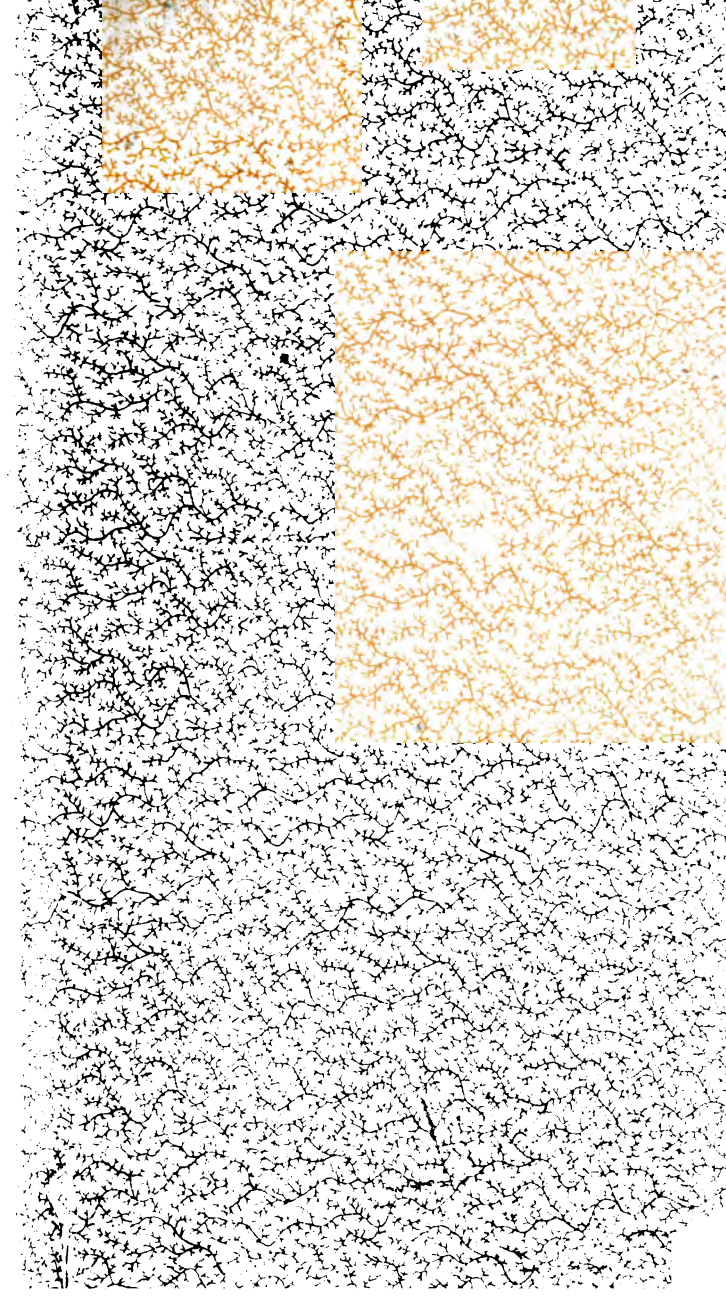
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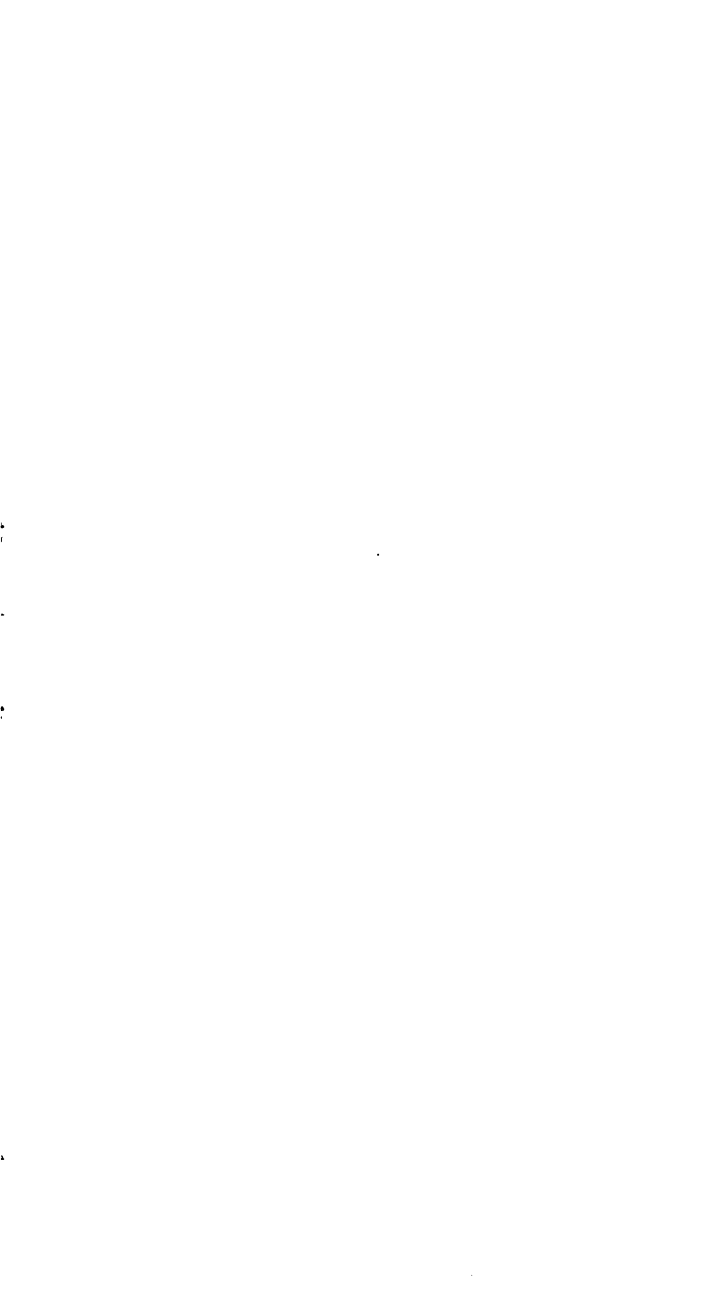
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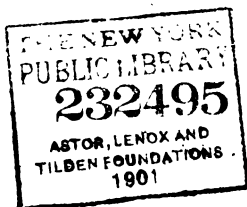
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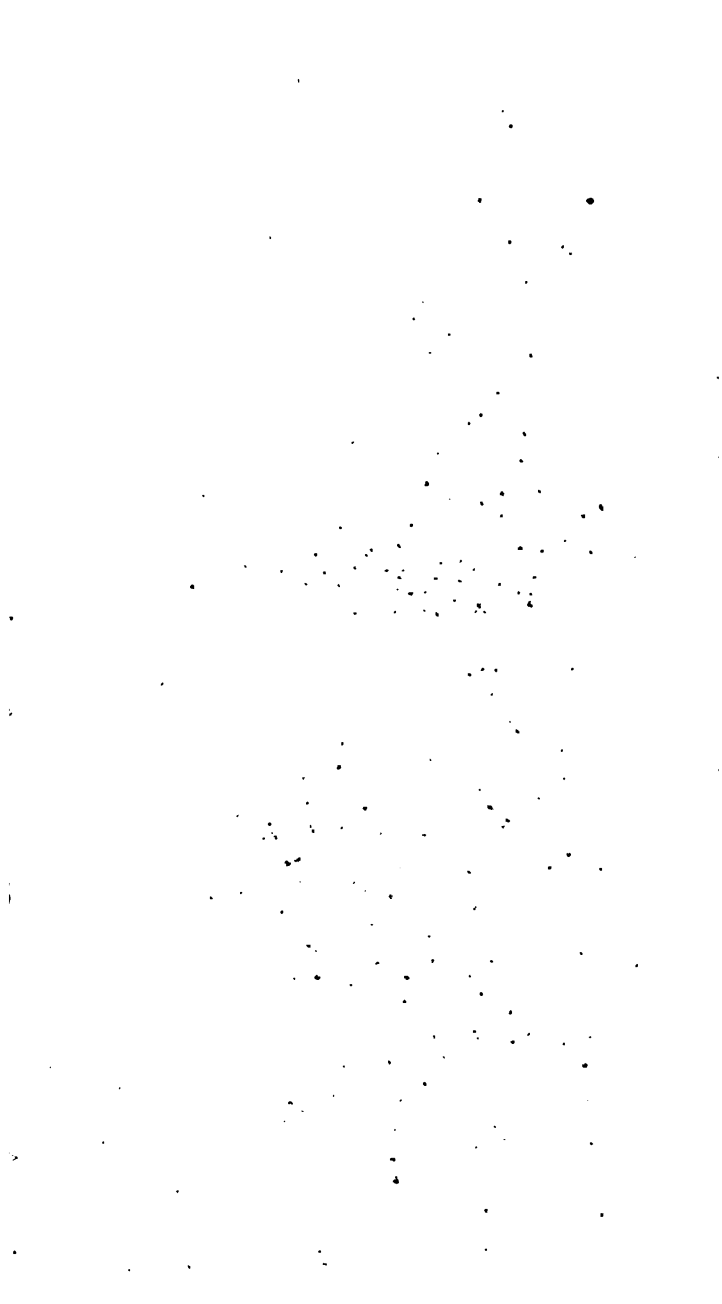
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"Honneur aux nations libres qui cherchent dans le lien fédératif non seulement une défense contre les agressions étrangères, mais aussi une garantie contre leurs propres passions, contre l'égarement de l'ambition, contre l'ivresse du succès!"—SISMONDI.

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THE object kept in view in the composition of this volume has been, to compress within the smallest possible compass those parts of the subject-matter which seemed of merely local importance, and, at the same time, to dwell, as far as space would admit, on points of national character or of European interest. In executing this design, the writer has availed himself of whatever answered his purpose in the works of German authors, from Müller, with the continuations of Glutz-Blotzheim and Hottinger, down to the *Historische Schriften* of Zschokke, and Meyer's *Handbuch*. Amongst English writers, hints have been taken from Coxe, Simond, and Planta; but the ideas of the last-named author have mostly been rendered obsolete by the changes of the last thirty years; and though Coxe deserves the praise of greater candor and acuteness, yet even his views have undergone, in many points, the silent confutation of Time.



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HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT HELVETIANS.—ROMANS AND BARBARIANS.

B. C. 110.—A. D. 500.

Aspect of the Country.—Ancient Inhabitants.—Ally themselves with the Cimbri and Teutones.—Defeat a Roman Army.—Invade Gaul.—Repulsed by Julius Cæsar.—Roman Conquest of Rætia.—Helvetic Insurrection under Vitellius.—Quelled by Aulus Cæcina.—Julia Alpinula.—Helvetia subject to Rome.—Barbarian Inroads on the Empire.—Settlements of Burgundians, Alemanni, Franks, and Ostrogoths.—Distinctive Features of French and German Switzerland.

A TRACT, however outwardly devoid of those advantages which are commonly viewed as the chief, if not sole elements of national greatness, will always take up a space in human history more extended than its visible strength and surface seem to claim for it, where “a petty population, without allies, munitions, or money, without state-craft, without military skill, save that which nature taught, could maintain itself in possession of its primitive rights and usages through all the European revolutions of five centuries.*

The land of which the history lies before us has been said to fight the battles of its inhabitants, and by the very structure of the ground to screen them from subjection, as well as to preclude them from conquest. Its main features still remain the same as Strabo has described them.—“Through the whole extent of the Alpine chains,” says that exact geographer, “there are hilly platforms capable of cultivation—there are also highly cultivated valleys; yet the greater part of the hill country, especially in its highest recesses, is unfruitful on account of the snow, and of the severity of the climate. As its rude inhabitants felt the want of all the productions of agriculture, they sometimes showed forbearance towards the cultivators of the plains, in order to obtain from them the necessaries of life. For these they exchanged resin, pitch, pine-wood, honey, and cheese, of which they had enough and to spare.”†

Helvetia is placed nearly at the centre of Europe, and may be considered (geographically speaking) as a corner of Germany. The ancient name of the country was derived from its first known inhabitants; the modern, from the canton of

* Müller.

† Strab. Geogr. iv. 6.

Schwytz, the cradle of Swiss independence. It is bounded on the north by the lake of Constance and the duchy of Baden, on the east by the Tyrol, on the west by France, and on the south by Italy. No other division of our quarter of the globe presents a panorama so astonishing,—no other exhibits so surprising a diversity of landscapes, ever interesting, and ever new in their features. Nowhere such extremes meet as in Switzerland; where eternal Alpine snows are fringed by green and luxuriant pastures,—where enormous icebergs rise above valleys breathing aromatic scents, and blest with an Italian spring,—and where the temperatures of each zone alternately reign within two or three leagues. But not alone the contrasts of nature claim our attention in these regions. Those of man are equally remarkable; from the life of the Alpine shepherd, who preserves in his lonely valley the simplicity of primitive times, to that of the inhabitant of towns, refined and softened by the manners and the language of France.

East and west, from the lofty central point of the St. Gothard, extend the Alps, in the form of a mighty crescent, embracing the north of Italy, and on every side environed by tremendous clefts and caverns, which ensnare the incautious traveller with a veil of grayish snow. Here is the horrid birth-place of the glacier and the avalanche; but hence, too, streams are welled forth by the genial warmth of nature to supply romantic lakes, and spread fertility over the face of the soil. Four principal rivers flow through Switzerland; the Rhine, the Rhone, the Ticino or Tessin, and the Inn. All of them originate in the high line of the Alps, and indicate by their course the main declivities of the country. The northern slope is watered by the Reuss and the Aar, which meet in the Rhine; the southern by the Ticino, the north-eastern by the Inn, and the south-western by the Rhone.

It would be useless to inquire how long the land was overshadowed by the foliage of impenetrable forests, and re-echoed only the roar of the bear and the ure-ox, and the scream of the lammergeyer; or who were the first human stragglers, urged by the love of freedom or solitude to seek a scanty subsistence there by hunting, fishing, or pasturage. The condition of the tracts between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Jura, remains involved in almost entire obscurity till the appearance of the Helvetians, a race of Gallic Celts, whom some unknown accident had guided from the borders of the Rhine and the Main to those of the lake of Geneva. The toilsome cultivation of these regions, while it left but little time for martial enterprise, conducted with the pure mountain breezes to form a stout and hardy people, which divided itself into four districts, then, as in

later ages, connected with each other by the feeble bands of a federal union.

It is probable that the Gallo-Celtic inhabitants of these regions, bordering so closely upon Italy, took part in the great inroads of the Gauls on that country. But their first ascertained military enterprise was conducted in alliance with the Cimbri and Teutones, who roamed from unknown regions in the east and the north; extended their conquests and ravages along the banks of the Rhine, and even struck the already powerful Roman commonwealth with terror. Whether few or many Helvetian tribes accompanied that expedition, cannot now be determined. What is evident, however, is, that each of these tribes had full liberty of waging wars, and allying itself with foreigners. Thus, the Tigurini, for example, marched with the Cimbrians nearly to the mouths of the Rhone. But when a Roman army, under the consul Lucius Cassius, threatened their rear, they suddenly wheeled round, apprehensive of being cut off from their homes; and, led by their young general Diviko, gave the Romans a complete defeat on the banks of the Lemane lake (lake of Geneva). The consul, and his lieutenant Piso, were left dead on the field. The conquerors only permitted the retreat of the survivors after they had given hostages, and marched under the yoke.

Long after Diviko's excursion with the northern marauders, recollections of the fat pastures and rich domains of Gaul, of which a glimpse had been caught in the course of that excursion, furnished all who had, and many who had not, shared the adventure, with a theme for the most highly colored description. There the vine and olive ripened under a warmer heaven, and the winter's snows were all but unknown. The effect of these reminiscences was enhanced by the accounts brought by travellers from the left bank of the Rhine, which produced their natural workings on a rude and simple people,—a people highly irritable, daring, and self-confident,—with whom prudent deliberation passed for cowardice, and in whom successful excursions had encouraged the propensity to predatory warfare. Their pastoral habits adapted them for any wandering enterprise: those distinctions of rank which are described as having existed among them marked out a military order. The priestly power is apter to take root among the more pacific cultivators of plains.

A leader of the former class stood forth among the Helvetians in the person of Orgetorix,—a man of rank and ambition. In peace, he could not gratify his appetite for absolute power, and therefore built his hopes upon warfare. Having secretly gained a number of adherents, he came forward in a public assembly, and artfully persuaded the people to quit their

rocky fastnesses, which barely furnished food for themselves and their cattle, and to march with him into the fair and fruitful territories of Gaul, where little resistance was to be feared from the effeminate inhabitants. The orator succeeded in exciting the rude appetites and passions of his hearers. His proposal was received with acclamations. It was resolved to break up and emigrate, after the lapse of three years, with their wives and families, cattle and possessions. The interval was to be used in making the needful preparations. Before, however, the year of the expedition had arrived, the despotic designs of Orgetorix were discovered; and he was induced to lay violent hands on himself, in order to escape death at the stake.

The resolution of the Helvetians must have been based on deep conviction, since it suffered no alteration from so ominous an outset. That retreat might henceforth cease to be thought of, they burned their habitations, and even their corn, reserving only three months' provisions. Moreover, they succeeded in persuading several neighboring tribes to burn their towns and villages in like manner, and accompany them. Three hundred and sixty-eight thousand souls, of whom ninety-two thousand were able-bodied warriors, are computed to have marched out on this Gallic expedition.

The Roman province of Gaul was, at the point of time before us, under the government of Julius Cæsar,—already no less eminent as a military leader than he became, a few years afterwards, as a statesman. He was, at this moment, aiming at the same power over his countrymen as that to which Orgetorix had aspired among the Helvetians; but, unlike the latter, the Romans had become ripe for subjection. Orgetorix, besides, was no Cæsar. Without granting the passage desired by the Helvetians through his province, he found means to put them off, to gain time, and collect reinforcements. He followed, with his army, their march through the lands of the Sequani and Ædui (inhabitants of the territory afterwards the Franche-Comté and duchy of Burgundy), alleging as his reasons the danger caused to the province under his charge by the descent of so warlike and enterprising a people, and the petitions for aid addressed to him by the Ædui, who were annoyed by the Helvetian inroad. In fact, however, any and every pretext for interfering in the affairs of Gaul was welcome to him. He made no demonstration of hostility till the main invading body had already crossed the Araris (Saône), when, falling on the Tigurini, who alone had remained on the left bank, he cut most of them to pieces, and dispersed the rest.*

* Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. i. 29.

Notwithstanding this unlooked-for catastrophe, the Helvetians did not yet renounce the main scope of their enterprise, and made overtures to treat with Cæsar. Old Diviko was commissioned for this purpose, who did not forget in recent defeat his former superiority. No treaty could be brought to a conclusion, and Cæsar followed the march of the invaders a fortnight longer. At length, after a desperate and long-sustained conflict in the neighborhood of Bibracte (Autun), the superiority of the Roman arms and discipline decided the day against the stubborn courage of the Helvetians. Their strength and spirit now completely broken, they submitted.

The terms imposed by Cæsar on the vanquished invaders were, to return into their desolated country, and rebuild their wilfully ruined habitations. For their immediate provision, he supplied grain through the Allobroges (inhabitants of the territory extending from Geneva to Grenoble, and from Vienne on the Rhone to the Alps in Savoy); and promised for the future that they should live under their own laws, under the specious denomination of allies of the Roman people. In order, however, to watch and overawe these new allies, a fortress was built at Noviodunum (Nyon), near the lake of Geneva. Several other garrisons were stationed throughout the country.

The Rhætians only, screened by their lakes and icebergs, might for a moment yet esteem themselves invincible, and form leagues with the natural allies of their tribe, who were scattered along the course of the Inn, throughout the vales of the present Tyrol, and in the plains included since in the circle of Swabia. They pursued a wild and reckless mode of life; plundered travellers, or broke suddenly forth in numerous hordes through their mountain-passes, and fell by surprise on the neighboring towns of Italy.

Even during Cæsar's Gallic proconsulate, there are traces of the Roman arms being turned against the Rhætians; and so soon as Augustus had firmly secured his dominion over the empire, he endeavored to confine within more narrow bounds, on the southward, a people whose incursions had by this time become formidable even to the plains of Upper Italy. Soon afterwards he sent against the Rhætians his two step-sons,—Drusus from Italy, Tiberius through Gaul, and by the lake of Constance. Only after an obstinate struggle, renewed with repeated efforts, were these vigorous assertors of their country's independence compelled beneath the universal empire of Rome. (15 B. C.) A part of their youth were afterwards embodied in the legions, and the subject land was occupied by permanent encampments.

We have seen that the Helvetians were at first flattered

by the Romans with the title of allies,—a title of precarious value at any time, and which, in the present case, seems only to have been given till the land should be secured in subjection. This is rendered still more evident by the circumstance of an equestrian colony, even in Cæsar's time, having been founded at Noviodunum (Colonia Julia Equestris). Under Augustus, Munatius Plancus founded the Colonia Augusta Rauracorum; and the settlement at Vindonissa (Windisch) cannot be of much later date. The franchises conceded to these settlements, the grants of land and subsidies which (in order to encourage such establishments, and build them up as outworks of the Roman dominion,) were conferred upon the Roman soldiers and colonists who chose them for a permanent residence, prove nothing with regard to the general welfare of the country, and the condition of its primitive inhabitants. They, indeed, retained in part their simple forms of polity, which soon, however, became merged in the central administration; and even so early as the reign of Augustus, heavy poll and land taxes, hitherto unknown, were introduced in these regions.

When the weaker come in collision with the stronger, one precipitate step may easily plunge them in ruin. This was experienced by the Helvetians, on the occasion of the murder of the emperor Galba (A. D. 69); an event of which either the tidings did not immediately reach them, or found them disinclined to acknowledge Vitellius,—the candidate for the purple against Otho. This prevalent indisposition, or ignorance, was not at all corrected by the conduct of the twenty-first legion (surnamed *rapax**) at Vindonissa, which, with rapacity suiting its surname, seized the pay set apart by the Helvetians for the garrison of the castle. The latter retaliated, by intercepting letters between the German and Pannonian armies, and by arresting a centurion with a company of soldiers. Their general, Aulus Cæcina, who was marching from the Rhine with his unbridled bands to meet Otho in Italy, sacked and destroyed the bathing-place on the Limmat (now Baden), which had grown, during long peace, to the importance of a municipal town. He called out reinforcements from Rhætia, to fall upon the rear of the native insurgents. These, without practice in arms, discipline, or tactics, were, in fact, without any of the conditions of success, and found themselves attacked by mountaineers like themselves,—the Rhætians. Assailed in flank by the legions under Cæcina; in rear by the cohorts coming up from Rhætia, as well as by the disciplined youth of Rhætia itself; they suffered a severe defeat. Borne down by the

* Tacit. Hist. xi. 43.

Thracian cohort, pursued and tracked to every retreat by the light German and Rhætian troops, many thousands were left dead upon the field, or made prisoners, and afterwards sold for slaves.

When the news of the lost battle reached Aventicum, amazement and distress prevailed. The ambassadors, who were instantly sent to appease the wrath of the conqueror, were received and addressed with harshness by Cæcina. He demanded, first of all, the execution of the principal man in the nation, Julius Alpinus. He referred the people for mercy to the emperor, who alone had power to mitigate their well-deserved chastisement. When the ambassadors brought this answer back to Aventicum, through fear of Cæcina's wrath, no one dared to discuss the sentence. Julia Alpinula only, daughter of Julius Alpinus, and a priestess of the goddess Aventia, dared a filial effort for the rescue of her parent. She hastened to the embittered foe's encampment, threw herself at the general's feet, and, with all the persuasive powers of youth and innocence, entreated for the life of her father. Cæcina ordered his instant execution. Fifteen hundred years since the occurrence, the following sepulchral inscription was discovered in the ruins of Aventicum:—"Julia Alpinula hic jaceo; infelicis patris infelix proles. Deæ Aventiæ sacerdos, exorare patris necem non potui: male mori in fati illi erat. Vixi annos xxiii." (I lie here, Julia Alpinula; unhappy child of an unhappy parent. Priestess of the goddess Aventia, my prayers could not avert the death of my father: fate had decreed him a lamentable end. I lived twenty-three years.)

The Helvetian envoys made their appearance before Vitellius, anxious, yet scarce hoping, to avert the last extremities. Audience at length being given, the infuriated soldiers brandished weapons of death before their eyes, and demanded loudly the total extirpation of a race which had laid presumptuous hands on Roman warriors. Vitellius himself knitted his heavy brows, and muttered menaces. The spokesman of the Helvetians, Claudius Cossus, stood pale as death before him, offered no excuse of the facts, but only depicted, in the liveliest hues, the misery of his country, threw himself at the emperor's feet, and begged so irresistibly, that all hearts were affected, and the soldiers themselves took part in supplicating mercy for Helvetia.* Thus his country was preserved by one man; but instead of being, as hitherto, entitled the ally of Rome, was degraded into union with the province of Gaul.

It, however, remains doubtful whether, even at this period, when the whole land was nominally subject to the Romans, a

* Tacit. Hist. c. 7. et seq.

certain measure of freedom, in its wooded and rocky recesses at least, might not still have continued to exist, compatibly with a nominal allegiance, perhaps even with the payment of a tribute. The remains of Roman settlements, extending from the Albis to the Bernese Oberland, lead to the inference that a connected line of garrisons was kept up for security towards the interior of the country. Roman coins, &c., which have been found in the interior, and even in the higher parts of the mountains, may have come there through the natives themselves. This may be conjectural; but a matter of more certainty is, that Roman habiliments, manners, and usages, became diffused throughout the country, along with their attendant effeminacy, luxury, and moral corruption. The Latin language gradually encroached upon, and in some measure superseded, that of the country. Even in things of common use, and in agriculture, many Latin names, which have not been adopted into the formed and matured dialects of Germany, are to be met with at the present day in Switzerland.* All genuine nationality was extinguished, and the very name of Helvetia disappeared. The inhabitants became mere subjects.

The government of Nerva, Trajan, Adrian, and the two Antonines, in almost its whole duration, may be reckoned among such blessings as Providence but sparingly vouchsafes to mankind. Under such rulers, bad administrators are rare, or, at all events, they are kept in check by wholesome apprehensions. Human industry penetrated the fastnesses of the mountains. The Alpine cows became an article of commerce; for though the breed was small and poor in flesh, it was capable of enduring labor, and afforded abundance of milk: the Alpine cheeses gained at that early period the renown which they retain to this day. Experiments were undertaken in agriculture—and the Falernian hills were rivalled by the vineyards of Rætia. The Helvetians paid peculiar veneration to the god of wine; and preserved his gifts, not as yet in wine cellars, but in wine casks. They worshipped also the sun, by the name of *Belin*, the invincible god; and his sister *Isis*, the moon; the sylphs, their guardian angels; and the shadowy powers, the *dii manes*. But the period must soon terminate in which individual qualities softened the workings of pure despotism and military dominion. The inseparable consequences of boundless prodigality, and consequent rapacity, on the part of the rulers, had made government a mere unpunished system of plunder. Admission to the rights of Roman citizenship, which, under Caracalla, became easier than

* The following are examples,—Aren (for *pflug*, to plow), Bolle (bulls, a bud), Furkel (*furca*, a pitchfork), &c.

ever, had the effect of introducing Roman citizens into all situations hitherto filled by natives. Thus the latter came at length to be governed by functionaries, who acted upon wholly distinct interests from theirs; a grievance which rose to its highest pitch in the reign of Diocletian, who conferred upon the higher class of officers powers of proceeding summarily, without calling assessors.

"Woe to the land," exclaims an eloquent Swiss writer,* "on whose judgment-seats the stranger sits—at whose gates the stranger watches! Woe to the land divided against itself, and relying on foreigners! Woe to the people which gathers gold, but knows the use of steel no longer!"

Christianity, during this period, spread by degrees throughout Helvetia. Men who were abandoned as a prey to every variety of misery and oppression, must have found a system welcome and encouraging, which taught resignation and patience under suffering, while it held out brighter hopes for the future; which had its menaces for the haughty and tyrannical, and its comforts for the lowly and wretched, and singled out the indigent and despised classes as the most especial objects of divine grace and mercy. The original announcement of the new faith has been ascribed by the legends to a certain *Beatus*, so early as the first century; in the third century, to *Lucius*, a *Rhætian*; at the close of the fourth, to the members of the so-called *Theban legion*. In like manner, the signatures of bishops or presbyters of churches, in the *Valais*, at *Geneva*, *Coire*, *Aventicum*, and elsewhere, are handed down to us, bearing date from the fourth century. These, however, are of extremely doubtful genuineness. What is better made out is, that a church existed at the close of that century in the *Valais*. During the fifth, others were established in the rest of the above-mentioned places.

Meanwhile the Roman power sunk lower and lower. Not the misused people only, but many men of rank and power, encouraged foreign, in order to get rid of domestic enemies. Under the perpetual minority of the imbecile *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the empire, already more than once dissevered, became permanently parted into Eastern and Western. Precisely at this epoch of exhaustion, more numerous swarms of semi-barbarous nomad nations set themselves in motion than at any former period; the roughest and remotest of which drove the others forwards on the now defenceless frontiers of the empire. While from the east the *Goths* fell upon Italy, while the *Vandals* and the *Suevi* attacked Spain, the *Burgundians* (also a race of Vandal origin) marched on the Upper

* H. Zschokke.

Rhine, from the Oder and Vistula. (A. D. 409.) Imperial Rome, too feeble to repel them, granted them, according to former examples, the possession of the larger part of the lands which they had devastated; thus purchasing their alliance against enemies yet more formidable.

The Burgundians fixed their residence on both sides of the Jura, on the lake of Geneva, in the Valais, on the banks of the Rhone and the Saône. They had adopted Christianity on their reception as Roman allies—a title which, by this time, had completely changed its import; and, instead of future subjugation, augured future mastery. They combined with large and vigorous outward proportions a character less rude than that of some other northern nations. In the quality of peaceable guests and new allies of the empire, they spared the still remaining towns and other Roman monuments, and permitted the former owners to retain their established laws and customs; appropriating, however, to themselves, a third of the slaves, two thirds of the cultivated lands, and one half of the forests, gardens, and farm buildings.

Much obscurity, during this period, rests on the history of those regions which are now German Switzerland. It is not exactly known how far the first Burgundian empire extended itself over the plain of the Aar. Eastward of that stream, and over great part of Germany, the land was overrun by the Alemanni, whose inroads on the empire may be dated somewhat later than those of the Burgundians. (A. D. 450.) These new-comers, embittered towards whatever bore the name of Roman, destroyed the still remaining fragments of fortresses and cities, which, in common with all German tribes, they utterly detested. They did not treat the inhabitants with cruelty, but reduced them to a state of complete servitude. All Roman landed property they seized without exception, and only allowed the tenants to remain there in the situation of bondmen, and on the condition of paying them dues. This new barbarian torrent overwhelmed the public monuments and symbols of Christianity. Whatever yet remained of the old culture disappeared, or, at all events, concealed itself.

Towards the close of the fifth century, another German race, or rather confederacy of tribes, obtained ascendancy. These were the Franks, a sturdy stem of heathens, whose power was established in Gaul by their leader Chlodewig (Clovis—Louis). This chief engaged in hostilities against the Alemanni. In the plain of Tolbiac (Zulpich, near Cologne, on the Rhine) the hostile nations met in deadly conflict. Victory remained long undecided; the fortune of the day seemed even to lean towards the Alemanni. In this emergency, Clovis swore aloud that he would turn, with all his Franks, to Chris-

tianity, if he won the field. This, as he doubtless intended, being heard by his Christian Gallic troops, they resolved to show their faith in Christ, in its whole triumphant efficacy. The Alemanni could not stand against the onset of enthusiasts, who felt that they were fighting for the glory of God. The fall of their prince decided them to surrender, and transfer their allegiance to the victorious king of the Franks, and Clovis marched along with them into their territories. Here, however, hostility towards the Franks and their new gods induced many to refuse him obedience. It was not until nine years after his victory that the body of the tribe was brought to submission. Clovis resolved to extirpate a population so unmanageable.

While Clovis raged thus furiously against the Alemanni, his brother-in-law Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, wrote to remind him that mercy and moderation better became a monarch than vengeance. As Clovis turned a deaf ear to this wise and benevolent counsel, many of the conquered Alemanni finally threw themselves into the arms of their intercessor. Thus Rætia became added to the dominions of the Ostrogoths; and at length, in the year 500 of our era, south-western or Roman Switzerland belonged to the Burgundians; northern or German Switzerland was shared between the Franks, the Alemanni, and the wilderness: Rætia was possessed by the Ostrogoths. These partitions, however, were destined to have no long duration. The first Burgundian empire owed its final dissolution (A. D. 534), in a great degree, to the family feuds and vices of its princes. The empire of the Ostrogoths verged to its fall about the same period. Five successive kings incurred successive losses in war and land. Dietbert, king of the Franks, took advantage of their weakness to recover the possession of Rætia. Thenceforward the Franks held exclusive rule over the whole extent of Rætia and Helvetia.

From this period is derivable, in a general way, without aiming at impossible exactness, the distinction of the French and German languages in Switzerland. So far as the dominions of the Alemanni, and since their subjection those of the German Franks, extended, the present Swiss dialect of German took its rise from the original roots of that language. In the lands about the lakes of Geneva and Neuchâtel, where the power of the Burgundians was established, the Gallo-Roman popular dialect kept its ground, from which were formed the several Romance dialects: from these, again, the Provençal; and at last the modern French.

More obscure in their origin, however obvious in their existence, are some characteristic varieties in the divisions of the race itself; for notwithstanding all the mixtures which have

hitherto taken place, and all local exceptions, a marked dissimilarity exists between them. The more rounded contours of the western inhabitants are distinguishable at once from the strong features of the eastern. The latter may conjecturally be traced to the Alemanni; while the former are more probably inherited from a Frankish stem.

CHAPTER II.

HELVETIA UNDER THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

500—936.

Early Institutions of the German tribes.—Laws.—Rules of Evidence.—Trial by Ordeal.—Trial by Battle.—Helvetia under the Frank Kings of the Family of Meroveus.—Improved Cultivation.—Influence of the Clergy.—Decline of the Merovingian race.—Its Fall.—Pepin.—Charlemagne.—Visits Helvetia.—Encourages Education and Agriculture.—Judicial and Ecclesiastical Polity.—Partition of the Empire of Charlemagne.—Inursions of the Magyars, or Hungarians.—Measures of Henry the Fowler.—Growth of Towns.

THE Frank kings of the family of Meroveus were the third exclusive rulers of Helvetia. As no fixed laws of succession existed, the country belonged, under their government, now to one head of the whole Frank dominions, now to several princes, amongst whom those dominions were divided, and who were no less divided by disputes among themselves. Omitting the interminable feuds of these princes, the perpetual alternation of conquests and losses, and other incidents equally little momentous, we shall rather attempt a rough draught of the social and judicial institutions of the German populations at that period, in order to trace the gradual revival of Helvetia from a state of deep and utter desolation.

The population, in those central parts of Europe which had been occupied by branches of the great German family, was a mixed race, compounded of the conquerors, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, and the later ingrafted colonies of Rome. The first claimed the exclusive right to be lords, while the two latter were looked upon as slaves of the soil; or, at the utmost, as an inferior and ignoble race of men, neither in rights nor in honors on an equality with freemen; treated with little or no regard in matters of legislation; and, above all, excluded from the privilege of bearing arms,—the proudest badge of freedom, and its only security. Military service was the first of public duties. The assembly of the people, in which every freeman had a voice, pronounced on all public affairs of importance; and the monarch could not arbitrarily set aside its decisions. In peace, indeed, the king was only first of his peers, but in war-time his command was

almost absolute; and, as wars were almost incessant since the period when the German tribes had extended their incursions over the south of Europe, the people became more and more inured to obedience. The people might be said to consist exclusively of the conquering army. Individual warriors settled themselves on scattered landed possessions. About a hundred farms or manors constituted a hundred (cent). Over this a centenary, or constable, was appointed, who held a court analogous to the old hundred court in England, which took cognizance of all cases concerning freemen or conquered nations. The public place for the administration of justice was called *mallus*. Over larger circles or districts counts were appointed; over whom dukes presided, who were commonly the leaders in war. Besides the original and ordinary allotments after victory, to all freemen, of the spoils and conquered territory, which thus became their independent property (*allodium*), the kings made separate grants to those who had done them special services, under the Roman denomination of *beneficium*; in later ages, *feudum*, or fief. The grantee was thereby placed in the condition of a vassal, and under special obligation to arm in defence of his feudal lord. Fiefs at first were not hereditary, nor even given for life; but, in the course of time, the vassals found means to render them inheritable, and almost independent of the monarch. Such was the rise of hereditary nobility; which, while on the one hand it set limits to the royal power, and reduced it in some countries nearly to nothing, on the other hand depressed the common freemen to the condition of serfs.

The laws partook of the rudeness of the period, and were few in number: these, however, were tolerably intelligible, and consisted less in commands than in prohibitions. Their main object was protection of property; for in those ages theft was viewed with more abhorrence than murder, since even a coward can make himself master of things unarmed and inanimate. This abhorrence of the cowardly crime of theft went so far, that, according to the Saxon laws, a horse-stealer was punished with death; while a money fine would expiate even the murder of a nobleman. The judge who let a robber escape was proceeded against as guilty of a capital crime. Whoever accepted a secret composition for theft was punishable equally with the thief. Whoever was charged by five impartial witnesses with theft must die. Hardly any other crime besides theft was punished with death, but treason and breach of trust. Most crimes had their money price; by which a double advantage was given to the rich over the poor, as the penalty was proportioned to the rank of the person against whom acts of violence (then the most frequent crimes) were

committed, and was calculated thus in an inverse ratio to the pecuniary abilities of the payer; while non-payment entailed the loss of personal freedom, and degradation to the state of feudal bondage. The rudiments of trial by jury existed at this period. Apprehension of the abuse of evidence, or rather ignorance of its use, introduced appeals to the judgment of God through the medium of the ordeal. The accused was made to plunge his hand into boiling water, take hold of a red-hot iron, or set foot on a red-hot plowshare. The limb which had been thus tried was put in a sealed bag; and the appearance which it presented on the third day was decisive of the party's guilt or innocence. Several other trials of this description came into use; and their application lay almost entirely in the hands of the clergy. Deceptions, which were only too easy, threw doubts at length on the aptitude of this instrument of justice; but, when once the path of reason has been swerved from, men only glide from one absurd aberration into another. Single combat now superseded the ordeal, as a method of proof less easily eluded; a method of which the vogue is not surprising at a period when irregular vindications of right by *voies de fait* were so frequent. Women, and others unable to bear arms, were, in general, permitted to procure capable substitutes. These and similar modes of trial were, at least, not worse than the torture, and those other inhumanities which in later times were introduced into the nations of German origin from the laws of other lands, and through the spiritual tribunals.

In the year 613, Clothair II. succeeded in uniting the whole empire of the Franks, after long internal wars and scenes of violence had taken place. Two years later, in 615, Clothair called his peers, secular and spiritual, together, to restore order in the land, and to remove existing grievances. In this assembly were settled the rights of the several ranks and races; and a basis was laid for the future constitution of the empire. The people learned, by slow degrees, the value of peace and tranquillity. Prosperity was gradually restored to the wasted lands of Gaul and of Helvetia. On the demise of Clothair, in 628, his son Dagobert ascended the throne. What the father had begun the son successfully continued, and administered his realm with vigor, wisdom, and justice.

In these times Helvetia, which in earlier days had counted twelve towns, 400 villages, and above 350,000 inhabitants, and where now nearly 2,000,000 human beings are collected in several thousand towns and villages, lay in great part waste and desolate, covered over with morasses and forests. Here and there a cluster of rude tenements might be met with, around a farm, a fortress, or a monastery. The revival of a

country is difficult after long disasters; especially when its natural site and qualities are unfavorable to the rapid growth and bloom of civilization. The recovery of Helvetia, therefore, could only advance slowly. It commenced, however, under Clothair and Dagobert. Villages and towns arose in many places; and their rise was often favored by religious foundations. Those of St. Gall, Disentis, Zurich, Lucerne, and Romainmotiers, may be traced to the times of which we have been treating. The bishops,—who, like their clergy, very generally lived in wedlock,—were elected by the latter and by the people, and afterwards confirmed by the king.

While the clergy, as in most rude nations, was exclusively in possession of such knowledge as existed, a few individuals only among the laity could at that time read, and still fewer could write. This brought into the hands of the clergy, besides their spiritual power over the conscience, considerable political influence; and enabled them, in a manner, to monopolize the functions of ministers, envoys, and agents in all the most important affairs of monarchs and great men. Into their hands fell the education of the upper classes, and the composition of history,—including, of course, the formidable instruments of praise and blame. Their influence was enormous in the diets of the empire; and, when Clothair demanded contributions from them, they complained, not of tyranny, but of sacrilege. Yet kings, who knew how to vindicate the dignity of their office, maintained a wholesome ascendancy over the synods of the clergy; and these again opposed themselves, not unfrequently, to clerical, social, and moral abuses.

Soon after the time of king Dagobert, the Merovingian dynasty began to verge towards ruin. The effeminacy, tyranny, and vices of these princes brought them, finally, into contempt with their subjects. They gave over the government altogether into the hands of their prime functionary, the mayor of the palace (*major domus*); who was also commander-in-chief of the army. The elevation of Pepin of Heristal to that dignity, through the support of the nobles, in the year 687, is enough to show that the royal power had dwindled away to a shadow. Under the vigorous administration of his son, Charles Martel, the royal person ceased to appear at all, except in the annual popular assembly of the Franks on May-day. The Frank monarchy seems indeed, at this time, to have nearly reached the ideal of constitutional aristocracy. The king was a mere puppet in the hands of the men of influence; and the mayor of the palace played the part of responsible minister, in executing the mandates of this virtual representative body. Six monarchs of the Merovingian dynasty were cut off, within the space of forty years, by

sword or poison. Of few of these can history make any honorable mention. At length, when in addition to unworthiness came impoverishment, (for the Merovingians, in order to maintain themselves on the throne, were forced to alienate their hereditary domains in favor of their proud and rapacious nobles,) these princes lost entirely the regards of the people. In the year 751, two centuries and a half since the erection of the Merovingian dynasty by Clovis, Childeric III. was deposed from the throne by the assembly of the people at Soissons, thrust aside into a convent, and succeeded on the throne by the mayor of his palace, Pepin the Little, who founded the new Carolingian dynasty. The whole proceeding was sanctioned by the blessing of pope Stephen III.

The Carolingian dynasty, founded by Pepin, received its name from his son Charles; who not only excelled his father in greatness, but exalted himself high above the mass of his contemporaries. His reign, contrasted with that of his son Louis, who succeeded him, exhibits an instructive example how, with resources nearly similar, by means of skilful administration, a vigorous prince can elevate himself along with his people, and even efface the memory of important errors and blemishes; while, on the other hand, an incapable ruler, without bad dispositions, may not only make himself individually contemptible, but cripple and confine the national energies.

Pepin, with consent of his nobles, had, in 768, divided his kingdom between his sons, Charles and Carlomann; and the early death of the latter did not leave the former free from the suspicion of having hastened it by poison. Charles, shortly after his accession, put an end to the Lombard kingdom in Upper Italy. The Saxons, in the regions of the Lower Elbe and Weser,—who, notwithstanding many defeats, persisted in the most courageous resistance,—were brought into subjection, after thirty years' warfare, and compelled to embrace the Christian religion. The Arabs, who possessed Spain, were driven back as far as the Ebro. In the east, he forced Bavaria to acknowledge his supremacy, and extended his power as far as the Raab in Hungary. Yet he was not a mere insatiable conqueror: he directed his unremitting attention to internal administration. Through his capitularies, he aimed at improving the mode of administering justice; and the earlier institution of circuits, made by royal commissioners, was called into new life under his reign.

He was crowned at Rome as emperor, by the pope, in the year 800,—a solemnity which enhanced the outward dignity of his throne, but placed his feeble successors in a dangerous state of dependence on the spiritual authority, and fortified the

prejudice which, for ages afterwards, shook the independence of thrones no less than the internal repose of nations. Similar in its tendency was the law enacted by Charlemagne,—that bishops should be nominated, not by the royal authority, but by the clergy and people in every diocese, without any other recommendation than merit.

Helvetia had her share of the provisions made by Charlemagne, with a wisdom far beyond his age, for the popular instruction. Among the schools which he established or reformed was that of Zurich, where the grateful recollection of his bounty was preserved by an annual celebration. He also introduced vine-cultivation into Helvetia; and peopled several districts by transporting thither the conquered Saxons. He occasionally made some stay at Zurich; and enriched the cathedral church with his donations. We read, moreover, that men from the Thurgau served in his campaigns, whose strength and spirit attracted general notice.

After the death of Charlemagne, Helvetia, notwithstanding the frequent partitions of the empire, and the internal disorder occasioned by them, enjoyed peace for a century. The land flourished greatly during this period, under what was called the *Second* or *Little Burgundian* kingdom, which was founded by count Boso of Vienne, and which maintained itself for more than an age independent of the sinking Carolingian dynasty. Many common-lands were divided, and converted into arable. In the Valais, and even in the neighborhood of Zurich, vines were cultivated. The inhabitants, formerly scattered, now collected themselves into farms and villages, in which commonly stood a baronial tower or mansion. Every village had a special jurisdiction, under its *vogt*, or bailiff. The whole district assisted in the trial of important cases. The general assembly, which was held in the open air, was joined by every one who possessed seven feet of land before and behind him. The elders took the first place; the count stated the case; and every man gave judgment on it as God had given him understanding. After the case had been thus debated, the judges, properly so called, stepped into the circle,—that is to say, into the middle of a ring formed by the rest of the meeting,—and that which they declared was received for doom. The monastery of St. Gall, already wealthy and powerful, distinguished itself for science and for discipline. It was not, indeed, an age of native learning; nor had St. Gall much to boast of in the shape of intellectual productions of its inmates or tenantry. Here, however, the books of the fathers and ancient historians were read and copied; and many a now extensively diffused Latin work might have been lost to the modern world but for the toils of these obscure

monks, inhabiting a corner of the Thurgau. The use of religious foundations, in the infancy of national culture, may be likened to that of firs planted to screen the growth of young trees. Oak and beech may long survive their dark and withered nurses; but it was these whose formal and sombre lines could alone have served effectually to fence the tender saplings from the bleak gales of the north.

The partition of the empire of Charlemagne between the two branches of his family, which established themselves on the thrones of France and Germany, at which the separate histories of those countries may be considered to commence, and the extinction, not long afterwards, of the Little Burgundian line, threw Helvetia under the power and protection (such as it was) of the German empire, restored by Otho the Great from amidst the ruins, which were all that remained of the lofty pile of Charlemagne. The decline of the Carlovin gian race was made to subserve their own aggrandizement by the counts and by the rest of the nobility. Pepin and Charlemagne, by frequent changes, and by strong control of their functionaries, had imposed checks on the increase of the power of the counts. But now the lords, great and small, spiritual or secular, turned to good account the weakness of the government. Many of them aimed with success at absolute independence. The great nobles exercised oppression over the less powerful members of their own order; and exacted from them oaths of allegiance, as though they were their masters and monarchs. In effecting their designs, the counts made frequent appeals to arms, without asking the consent of their princes; and rendered the empire, which they ought to have protected, a theatre of ravage and desolation. Even the servants of the church began to stretch their holy hands, in all directions, after the treasures of this world. Enriched by perpetual pious bequests, they at length found themselves strong enough to push their pretensions, if need were, at the point of the sword. This struggle for aggrandizement gave occasion for continual strife betwixt the clergy and nobles, whose plans were perpetually crossing each other.

The lords and counts, who ruled during this period in Switzerland, domineered over the land uncontrolled; and only feared or flattered the German emperors when they hoped to increase their power by their assistance. Union among themselves they never knew, or knew at times only of instant and universal peril.

Such peril hung over all in the days of Henry I., surnamed the Fowler. A fearful scourge,—the irruption of hordes of absolute barbarians,—from which the land had been exempted during more than four centuries, broke out afresh, shortly

after the opening of the tenth century. The Magyars, or Hungarians, like the Huns, their savage predecessors in former ages, extended their multitudinous and mischievous incursions into the very heart of Germany, into Switzerland, and even into Italy and France. They wasted the whole face of the open country, and exercised savage cruelties on the unarmed inhabitants. On the other hand, their ignorance could effect little or nothing against fortified and well-provisioned places.

The principal mode of defence adopted by Henry was at once the most effectual, as against so rude an enemy, and the most permanently useful to the country, long after the immediate emergency had passed away. He built walls around a number of defensible places, as a refuge for the property and persons of the country people. The fortifications of Zurich, of Soleure, and other Swiss towns, are generally referred to this epoch. To this epoch also belongs the first foundation of the class of burghers, whereby Henry the Fowler has merited to be viewed as in no small degree the founder of all modern civilization. It is true that he could not contemplate all the effects of his own measure; of part, indeed, he could not have the slightest conception. This does not detract from the wisdom and benevolence of his purpose, in contending with the reluctance of the German tribes of his kingdom, who, accustomed as they were to vagabond license, unwillingly sat down in walled towns, and looked upon these sanctuaries of popular rights as prisons. To counterweigh these prejudices, Henry conferred on the towns a number of important favors and privileges; which, in many points, placed the burghers on an equality with the nobles. The lesser nobles themselves, who, as we have seen, were elsewhere exposed to oppression by the powerful men of their own order, received, along with ordinary freemen, a due share in the management of civic concerns. All the other settlers, moreover, were looked upon as freemen, with the exception of those who were bondsmen of convents or cloisters already existing within the walls of the town. Thus, at the sides of the nobles and the clergy arose a new class—that of the burghers; which, in the sequel, came to take part in the municipal administration, and assert a higher degree of independence.

It is probable that Henry saw, in his new municipalities, the cradle of a third estate in his kingdom: it is certain, at least, that the birth of a rival and formidable interest was viewed with jealousy by the higher nobles and clergy. These tyrants had extended their powers arbitrarily, not only over their vassals, but over those who might at any time have voluntarily courted their protection. They demanded of them new contributions

and services. Freeholders, or freemen, were descendants, for the most part, from the race of the Frank conquerors. Some of them, indeed, were descendants of the conquered; to whom freedom had, at different times, been conceded. Almost everywhere, however, they lived mixed and confused with bondsmen, and did not always keep a jealous watch for the maintenance of their freedom. Thus, amidst the pressure of warfare, indigence, and ignorance, freemen were confounded with, and counted for, serfs. Such was the state of things throughout Switzerland; it was such, indeed, throughout the German empire universally. The free class of the common people was almost entirely extinguished; and the German race was nearly reduced to the state of so many others. From this degradation Henry's institution of towns rescued it. The inhabitants of these towns, fortified by strong walls and close internal union, could defend themselves from all assaults of violence,—could harbor the oppressed, as guests or citizens,—and could reinforce their internal strength by alliances. In effect, the burghers could soon bid defiance to the nobles, and even balance the political weight of the clergy. It was not long before the towns committed themselves in strong and successful rivalry with these formidable influences. While the nobles were impoverished by disastrous feuds, by senseless extravagance, by changes in the value of commodities, &c.; the towns, on the other hand, flourished in the possession of free constitutions, active traffic, wealth, power, and imperial favor,—as they supported the emperor's warlike undertakings with men and money, and on all occasions adhered to him more faithfully than the nobles. Such was the rise of Henry's institution; not, indeed, sudden, as if by the stroke of a magic wand, but vigorous, though gradual in its progress.

CHAPTER III.

DYNASTY OF ZÆRINGEN IN HELVETIA.

1090—1240.

Power of the Church.—Henry IV.—Pope Gregory VII.—**Dynasty of Zæringen in Helvetia.**—The Crusades—Their effects.—Improved condition of the Country.—Berchthold IV.—Augments the number of fortified Towns.—Encourages the Burghers by immunities.—Berchthold V.—Lays the foundation of Berne.—Erects it into a free town of the Empire.—Refuses the Imperial Crown.—Last of the line of Zæringen.—Free men of Schwytz afford the first demonstration of their existence.

It was reserved for the eleventh century to see the growth of a power which, under the banners of a sacred institution, and through the union of invisible weapons with others of more earthly temper, extended itself equally over sovereigns

and their subjects. Invariably fixed on one purpose, apparently quiet, as long as no occasion offered for acting; pliant and flexible under the pressure of fear for its own safety, and ever prompt and dexterous in the use of opportunities; it had formed and matured a regular offensive system, with formidable resources and auxiliaries; and only required a daring leader, a suitable field, and careless opponents, to show itself in its whole extent and under its true colors.

Helvetia hoped in vain to enjoy repose beneath the wide-extended wing of the German empire. The obstinate, protracted, and destructive strife which raged between the emperor and the pope, engendered the most violent disorders even in its mountain recesses. During a century and a half, the German empire had been governed by a vigorous line of princes, who raised the imperial power to such a pitch, that the revival of a dominion such as Charlemagne had planned did not appear beyond the bounds of possibility. The rise of such an enormous power was prevented by the papacy. Hitherto the popes had been under the sovereignty of the emperors; the influence of the latter had decided their elections, and superintended all their proceedings. The popes had long wished to be freed from this burdensome supervision. Many members of the clergy likewise, tired of a state of tutelage under their archbishops and bishops, hoped to gain a freer field of action, by magnifying the more distant authority of the papacy. The popes, besides, well knew how to take advantage of the weakness and dissensions of the secular powers; their disputes with the princes or bishops; the love of freedom in the towns; the love of power in the nobles; but especially of those cases in which the emperors sought papal mediation and arbitrement. Even in the reign of Henry II., whose attachment to the priesthood may probably have gone farther towards procuring the honor of saintship for him than even the strict piety of his life, the imperial confirmation of the papal election was no longer treated as necessary. The emperor Conrad, busied with other matters, did not attend to Rome. But, in 1039, the imperial throne was ascended by his son, under the title of Henry III. Since Charlemagne, no prince had stood at the head of the German people, who with such energy preserved the imperial dignity inviolate, and ruled with so much vigor every part of his extended empire. After many great undertakings, he had leisure to turn his eyes towards Rome, which was at that time distracted by the contending claims of three popes. Henry deposed all three, and re-established the ordinance that no papal election was valid without the imperial confirmation. So long as he lived, Ger-

man prelates occupied exclusively the papal chair ; but his successors in vain sought to maintain a similar influence.

On the demise of Henry III., in 1056, the imperial crown descended on the head of his son, Henry IV. ; who, at the time of his father's death, was a child of less than six years old. He gave evidence, at an early age, of great qualities, of a fiery spirit, and chivalrous disposition. He was spoiled, however, to such a degree by the injudicious treatment of his guardians, that his noble natural faculties were defaced,—without, however, being utterly extinguished,—by wanton levity, pride, passion, vindictiveness, and boundless ambition. Under his reign, the discord between emperors and popes broke out into open warfare, which raged through nearly half a century, and at a later period blazed out anew.

Contemporary with Henry IV. was Hildebrand, better known by the name of pope Gregory VII. Few characters in history have been eulogized or censured with more vehemence than that of this prelate. Some have represented him as a monster in human shape,—nay, with a laughable distortion of his name, as a *hell-brand*. Others paint him in angel hues, as an honor to human nature. Neither side pays any regard to truth. Born at Siena or Saone, an Italian town, the son of a blacksmith, Hildebrand entered early into the spiritual profession. He showed talents of a high order ; was invited to the papal court ; and here, by that ascendancy which belongs to great over common minds, he soon became the soul of all undertakings. He had set it before him as the aim of his life, to exalt the successor of St. Peter, the delegate of God upon earth, over all kings and princes, and to annihilate the influence of the emperor, as of every other secular ruler, in ecclesiastical matters. This plan was followed by Gregory throughout his whole life with such skill, perseverance, strength, and singleness of purpose, as to rank him amongst the most extraordinary characters in history. In his times the grossest disorders and abuses had crept in amongst the higher and lower clergy. Extravagance, immorality, vice of every kind, had ceased to be a rarity amongst them ; and, as the dignities of the church were bought and sold, the most unworthy were often found in the highest places. Inspired with the most ardent zeal for the freedom of the church, and for the morality of the spiritual order, Hildebrand resolved to lay the ax to the root of these evils. Even while only papal chancellor, he toiled towards his end by multiplied ordinances ; and when he deemed every thing ripe for his grand object, he ascended at length the papal throne, as Gregory VII., A. D. 1073. Having contrived to obtain the emperor's assent to his nomination, though the election had already taken place with-

out his concurrence, Gregory at once set to work in the accomplishment of his schemes against the secular power; and struck the first blow in the year 1075. A triple and solemn prohibition went forth to the clergy on the several points of celibacy, simony, and investiture.

The blow was now struck—the measures of Gregory fell like lightning from heaven; and the conflagration threatened to involve all Germany. The spiritual and secular powers stepped into the lists, and struggled for superiority;—the one with the aid of abused faith and the most audacious assumptions; the other, backed by the sword, and based on titles hallowed by centuries.

It was not surprising that Henry should oppose with his whole power the papal ordinances, which endangered to such a degree the imperial dignity. But the pope also put forth his utmost strength, and found numerous adherents among the discontented nobles. A schism took place throughout the whole empire. Provinces, archbishoprics, towns, monasteries,—nay, many private families,—were the prey of internal divisions. Sincerity and confidence, the corner-stones of human society, seemed to disappear from the earth. Subjects revolted against their princes; children took arms against their parents. All the bonds of family affection were loosed; and what mankind had regarded hitherto as holy and inviolable, was trodden under foot with contempt. When the papal anathema finally went forth against the emperor, while on the other hand, the ban of the empire fell on his opponents, confusion reached its highest pitch; and, besides the grand struggle which was soon to begin, a thousand petty feuds broke out through the whole extent of the empire; which were fought for and against pope and emperor, often indeed merely under cover of their names, for the gratification of private rapacity, passion, or some long-cherished hatred.

Helvetia, at this period, offered no agreeable aspect. Its first and most powerful prince, duke Rudolf of Swabia, along with Berchthold of Zæringen, duke of Carinthia, and many other princes, had revolted from the emperor. The country was divided betwixt the parties: Rudolf was ascendant in Swabia; the emperor, in Burgundian Helvetia.

Through the excommunication lanced against Henry, Gregory freed from their oaths of allegiance all the imperial vassals and subjects, and solemnly declared that even emperors, kings, and princes, with all their powers, were subject to him, the pope; who, as divine plenipotentiary, was warranted to give and take away thrones. Gregory was resolved to try the first application of this principle on the emperor himself, the first of secular princes,—an enterprise in which

success was possible; the rather that Henry, in the heart of his empire, had powerful enemies, who would willingly see him humbled, even partly at their own expense. Henry, in whom Gregory's measure excited rage rather than fear, as the invisible power of the papal anathema was not yet known by experience, retorted by a scornful deposition of the pope. Thereupon the latter lanced a new excommunication, and pronounced the deposition of the emperor himself. An impression most unfavorable to Henry was produced by this extraordinary measure. His enemies exulted; for their cause had now become that of the church, and their customary war-cry from thenceforward was "St. Peter!" Henry's friends became discouraged; and events took such a turn, that the princes at length threatened to give effect to the papal sentence, if Henry did not clear himself from it within the term of a year. Had the latter been a man of blameless character, the power of a mere word could not have struck him down thus; for the word itself acquired its irresistible effect entirely through the public opinion. But his errors and presumption had made him enemies innumerable, who now were glad to veil their revenge with the pretext of religion. In this situation, the emperor had no resource left but to creep with his wife and children into Italy, in the depth of winter, amidst unheard-of difficulties and dangers, without money, without escort, through the mountain passes occupied by Rudolf and the rest of his enemies. On his arrival, he was hailed with loud acclamations by his Lombard vassals; and nothing but that want of true spirit, which depresses the presumptuous in the day of ill fortune, could have prevented him from marching on the pope at the head of an army, and induced him to prefer imploring remission of the sentence at the price of the hardest conditions and the deepest humiliations. With rage and revenge in his heart, he returned to Germany. Here he found duke Rudolf of Swabia enthroned as anti-Cæsar. But he found, too, a strong party of adherents, in the free towns, in the clergy, who were mostly averse to Gregory's innovations; and amongst all who felt indignation for the dishonor done to the German name, and sympathy for their deeply humbled emperor. Now began a war of extermination, by which even a large portion of Helvetia was depopulated. Gregory, who at first regarded the scene of confusion quietly, now fulminated new excommunications, but in vain. In vain he sent his favorite Rudolf a consecrated crown, with the arrogant inscription, "*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolfo.*" The fortune of war declared itself in favor of Henry. In a decisive battle at Merseburg, in 1080, Rudolf was mortally wounded, and his hand, which had been cut off

in the combat, being shown him, he is said to have repentantly exclaimed, "That is the hand which I pledged in swearing fealty to the emperor!" His fall was regarded as a judgment of God, and Henry's adherents gained the ascendancy. The archbishop Gilbert of Ravenna was elected anti-pope, as Clement III. Gregory, banished from Rome, died in exile at Salerno, A. D. 1085. Henry's subsequent fortunes, the rebellion of his sons, and his death in the year 1106, do not concern the history of Switzerland so much as the foregoing occurrences. The main dispute was smoothed by a tardy compromise, in 1122, between Henry V. and Pope Calixtus II. The pope retained investiture by ring and staff, as a symbol of his spiritual jurisdiction. Enfeoffment of secular possessions, with the sceptre, was recognized as belonging to the emperor. But the conflict between spiritual and secular supremacy was not to be stilled for any lengthened period.

After the fall of Rudolf of Swabia, the anti-Cæsar, at Merseburg, his vacant dukedom was bestowed by the victorious Henry IV. on his son-in-law Frederick of Hohenstaufen. Rudolf's son, count Berchthold of Rheinfelden, contested, in a long war, the possession of his father's domain, with its new owner. Berchthold died in the year 1090, by which event the rights of the count of Rheinfelden were transmitted to his brother-in-law Berchtold II. of Zæringen. The nobles in Ulm recognized the new duke immediately, and tendered him the oath of allegiance. Frederick of Hohenstaufen prepared for a renewal of the war with fresh vigor; but Berchthold well knew that the land was tired out by protracted vexations, and he himself preferred a moderate fortune to the doubtful issue of warfare. He, therefore, appeared in the presence of the emperor at the diet of Mentz, in 1097, and there surrendered the ducal office and dignity into Frederick's hands, terminating by this submission the four-and-twenty years' hostility maintained by his house against Henry IV. As a recompense for this renunciation, Henry shared the sometime duchy of Swabia or Alemannia between the two candidates, so that Swabia properly so called was allotted to Frederick, while Helvetia was conferred upon Berchthold, almost in its present extent. This arrangement finally separated Swabia from Helvetia, and extinguished the very name of Alemannia. Thus the land was tranquillized; and thus the beneficent power of the princes of Zæringen was established in Helvetia. They found the land in a far from happy condition. Long and furious warfare had engendered insecurity, immorality, distress, and disorder. On the other hand, foundations pious and useful for the times, increased in number, and promoted culture physical and moral. The towns, too, acquired more and

more importance; on the whole, the accession of the dynasty of Zeringen seemed to announce an era of more general well-being.

While such were the mutual relations between Germany and Helvetia, a series of events, of which the first scene lay in Asia, produced effects in the whole of Christian Europe, which for their magnitude may well claim attention.

The more difficult it is to infuse new ideas into mankind, the more strongly such ideas work when once they have found entrance. As several of the nations of antiquity were accustomed to visit sites supposed holy, where oracles were uttered or any other wonders worked, as the Jews performed certain religious exercises only in the temple of Jerusalem, even so an opinion spread in the course of ages amongst Christians, that pilgrimages or travels to remote places, to which especial sacredness was attributed,—prayers and penance offered up in such places,—must have efficacy far superior to that of acts of simple piety confined within the circle of home. Pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre became more and more frequent; and so long as the Arabian power extended over Palestine, the Christian pilgrims met with mild treatment. But when the Arabs were forced to yield to the Seldschuk Turks, the pilgrims were often treated with harshness and cruelty by the latter. The conviction at length arose, that it was a duty to reclaim the holy place from such hands. Peter of Amiens, a hermit of doubtful character, brought the long-collecting elements of wrath to an explosion. The pope, who might be well assured of gaining a great influence in the guidance of the popular force, and even over the princes, promised absolution of sins and a crown of eternal glory to all who should join the holy expedition. In the year 1096, the first crusading army set out, composed of numerous volunteers, in great part from France. In 1099, they made themselves masters of Jerusalem and the neighboring country.

At different times after shorter or longer intervals, during the course of the two following centuries, emperors, kings, princes, bishops, dukes, counts, with a multitude of priests and monks, whole bands of burghers and peasantry, nay, troops of women, and even of children, marched against the infidels. The first electric impulse was renewed in the sequel, partly by similar means of excitement, and partly to preserve from ruin the newly established empire in the East. Rome neglected no means of fuelling the zeal which had been spread through all classes of society. In exact proportion as the monarchs of Europe fixed their views on the East, while they weakened their dominion at home, the papal power was inevitably aggrandized; and as these wars were regarded as

religious concerns, the spiritual authority was more than once successful in uniting the whole forces of the West in its own hands. Incalculable profit besides resulted to the clergy from the accomplishment of pious vows and donations, and to this general movement many monasteries owe their origin. These were founded by some count or baron, either in fulfilment of a vow in time of need and peril ; or, in order to testify gratitude for his fortunate return ; or, finally, to close his life in practices of devotion.

As almost every great convulsion of nature or humanity, notwithstanding all the mischief it may occasion, directly or indirectly produces salutary consequences, so from these expeditions, although their principal end was attained in only a transient manner, and several successive generations suffered severely from them, there still resulted many beneficial effects, and these were extended widely over Helvetia.

Many noble lords had found their death in the crusades ; many families were impoverished, and forced to alienate their properties. In this way the large landed estates were brought into numerous hands, whereby not only freemen but bondsmen improved their situation, and were enabled to acquire property. The latter class were treated with more humanity by their masters, lest they should march off in a body with the crusaders ; and received tracts of land from the owners for cultivation, on the payment of ground-rents and other dues. Thus the vassals were encouraged to exertion and economy ; many of them succeeded in still farther bettering their condition, and in buying off their old or recent burdens and obligations. Similar acquisitions were also made by the towns ; admission into which from this period became easier for the vassals of the nobles.

Thus a gradually altered aspect was taken by Helvetia, in common with the other lands on this side the Alps, partly through the growth of the towns, partly through the effects of the crusades. Improvements were effected in agriculture. Not only many better modes of laying out the land were introduced from the examples of other countries, but new species of vines, fruit trees, vegetables, and grains were imported. The dukes of Z  ringen, besides that they possessed over Helvetia the delegated prerogatives of the empire, owed likewise to the free election of Zurich, and of other towns, the office of their *kast-vogt*, or *schirm-vogt*, which in English may be rendered *warden*, or *patron*. The ecclesiastical establishments, not being in general sufficiently armed against external violence, found it expedient to have secular protectors, on whom they could rely for safety and defence. They, of course, chose some powerful lord ; and these in their turn, as the office con-

veyed much power and influence, were ever solicitous to obtain it: many even succeeded in making it hereditary. In German the officer is called *kast-vogt*, or *schirm-vogt*, which in some Latin muniments is sometimes rendered *castaldus*, but more commonly *advocatus*. The cities and free states in their infancy accepted likewise of such protectors, who afterwards often became oppressors.*

In the year 1152, Berchthold IV. stood at the head of the house of Zæringen. He had numerous dependants, but even more numerous enemies, who envied his preponderant power. In order to keep these within bounds, and to strengthen himself against the nobles of Burgundy, Berchthold walled in many existing hamlets, or built new towns, and gave them extraordinary privileges. In these the love of freedom, of tranquillity, or of profit, collected together a multitude of persons, who naturally adhered with steady fidelity to the duke, by whom their new position had been given, and was secured to them. On the other hand, the duke intruded no one as a citizen, nor prevented any from changing their places of residence at pleasure; so that free and bondsmen vied with each other in pressing into the towns. The latter became free when their masters did not claim them within the term of one year, and prove their vassalage by the oath of seven witnesses. The burghers imposed taxes on themselves. They were obliged to march no farther in the wars of the duke than so that they might still sleep at home the same night. Every burgher must possess a house, as pledge of his allegiance. In good or evil fortune they stood each for all, and all for each. Thus simple were the laws and customs observed by the rising class of burghers. These laws and regulations, indeed, were calculated, not for the general good of a state, but for a single town, and for those who belonged to it. This apparent selfishness may be pardoned, if we recollect the necessities and circumstances of the period. At the time when towns were founded, nothing like patriotism, far less zeal for the general rights of humanity, could exist. The burgher who was heartily attached to his town, and the knight who cherished love for his prince, and cultivated the virtues of his order, was regarded as fulfilling his whole duties. For in those times the burgher viewed his town in the light of his father-land, and the citizen knew no state but the court of his prince. A closer bond between the individual parts of a commonwealth, the sacrifice of private to public interests, respect for the rights of others, in a word, a general love of country, was the product of a more advanced age. Besides, the nobles and clergy strove with their whole strength to keep down the growing power

* Planta, vol. i. p. 112.

of the citizens. This imposed on them the most vigilant regard to their own interests, and the most complete union among themselves, so that the well-being of others could not be taken into account.

Berchthold V. followed the example of his father in laying the foundations of towns; for the dukes of Z eringen governed on a plan grounded upon, or rather prescribed by, the circumstances of the times. They found their power menaced by the nobility, and were therefore obliged to seek its humiliation. All the nobles of Burgundy revolted from the government of Berchthold V., so that he was forced to live in a state of open warfare with his subjects. The duke twice defeated the insurgents.

About this time he formed the hamlets of Burgdorf and Moudon into little towns; yet he still sought a more advantageous site, which should be nearer the possessions of his enemies, and such that the foundation of a town upon it should cause no apprehensions to his adherents. A little hamlet, Berne, lay near the fortress of Nydeck, on a peninsula which is washed by the Aar. The banks of the rapidly flowing stream are on all sides high and steep. On the site of the present town lay a considerable pasture-ground, and behind it a thick wood. On every side were visible only a few farm-houses and villages. The strong-holds of the nobles frowned from every height in the neighborhood.

About a month after Berchthold had defeated them, he commissioned Cuno of Bubenberg to surround Berne with walls. Cuno exceeded the prescribed extent of ground, and soon afterwards it was thought fit to extend still further the limits which he had set to the town. For a long time the duration of the new town seemed doubtful. The climate was raw, the region unattractive, the enemy's vicinity dangerous. To counter-balance these disadvantages, however, Berchthold placed it as a free town of the empire, under the emperor's immediate protection, and thus rendered it independent of his own house for the future. Allured by this extraordinary boon, many of the inferior nobles, who valued freedom, which they could not enjoy in a state of isolation, gathered themselves together into the town, to secure by brotherly union this most precious of all possessions. Such were, for example, the Erlachs, Bubenbergs, and Muhlerers. Numerous artificers were attracted by hopes of profit. Even in its increased extent the town could not contain the increasing multitudes; and as the land-owners preferred besides to live upon their property, Berne acquired many out-burgers, who added much to her strength.

Soon after this epoch, Berchthold fell into a feud with the imperial house. The emperor Henry VI. died before it was

well finished. Many German princes now wished to place the crown upon the head of duke Berchthold, partly moved by hatred to the house of Hohenstaufen, which at that time sat upon the throne, and partly by respect to that of Zæringen. A succession of five admirable princes had inspired a good opinion of this noble stem, which seemed exactly suited, by its wealth and power, to maintain the imperial rank in a dignified manner. Although, however, Berchthold loved, at other times, to aggrandize his power by any means, sometimes, indeed, more dexterously than honorably, yet he declined, with prudent modesty, this perilous elevation; and renounced a claim which, even with arms in his hands, he could not have well supported; as he had reason to fear the worst from the disaffection of his Burgundian subjects, and had learned, by striking examples, that their fidelity was not much to be depended upon in warfare. But, in any event, Berchthold could be but a powerless emperor, and accordingly preferred to be a powerful duke. For the renunciation of the throne, he received compensation from Philip the brother of the late emperor, and lived in peace thenceforwards with the imperial house of Hohenstaufen. Twenty years longer he administered his domains with uninterrupted prosperity and glory. He surpassed all the princes of the empire in wealth, in power, and in reputation; and reigned a true father of his people, as well as a firm sovereign of his nobles. His arms were, in general, victorious; although, through the unfaithfulness of his armies, he experienced the mutability of fortune. He was the last of his race, his sons having died before him, and he followed on the 14th of February, 1218.

It was probably not so much from love of freedom that the princes of the Zæringen line took part with the towns and the people, as because they wished to triumph by the aid of the towns and the people over the powerful disaffected nobility. This object being nearly accomplished, the line became extinct, without having stained its reputation by completing its dominion over Helvetia through the subjection of the burghers and the peasantry.

Under the dynasty of Zæringen, in the midst of so many bishops, counts, and burgher-corporations, the name of the free men of Schwytz was, for the first time, heard in a dispute about their boundaries with Einsiedlen. These people had long lived in the enjoyment of tranquil happiness, subject to no one but to God and to the empire. They had hitherto attracted so little notice, that the monks of Einsiedlen were able to conceal their very existence from the emperor. Henry II. had made a grant to these monks of the waste lands in their neighborhood. The abbot claimed as much as he chose as

waste and uninclosed land; and accordingly included in his claim the pastures, hills, and plains, bequeathed to the men of Schwytz by their forefathers. The country people, however, neither yielded to the claims of the abbot, nor to the sentence of the emperor, and maintained their rights so strenuously under Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen, that every effort employed against them was fruitless, and even outlawry and ban effected nothing. They maintained themselves by vigor and resolution in their possessions, which were finally secured to them by Frederick II., a better disposed or better informed emperor.

CHAPTER IV.

TIMES OF RUDOLPH AND ALBERT OF HAPSBURG.

1218—1308.

Birth of Rudolph of Hapsburg.—His Early Conduct and Character.—Interregnum in the Empire.—First League of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden with Zurich.—Rudolph supports the Towns, and employs their Arms against the Nobles.—Accepts the Vogt-ship of the Forest Lands, and the Military Command of Zurich.—Conciliates the Abbot of St. Gall, in order to attack the Bishop of Basle.—Elected Emperor.—Partial Change in his Character.—His Feud with Savoy.—His Feud with Berne.—His Death.—State of the Empire.

THE same year which witnessed the extinction of the race of Zeringen saw, in the birth of count Rudolph of Hapsburg, the rise of a more illustrious dynasty. The family from which he sprung was ancient and powerful; though Rudolph himself inherited from his father, Albert IV., who died in a crusade in 1240, only a moderate portion of lands and subjects. Most part of the hereditary property of his house was in the hands of his maternal uncle. As landgrave of Alsace, and count of the Aargau, the power which Rudolph possessed was, by the ancient love of freedom subsisting in the subject population, confined almost to the empty name of lord of the land. Rudolph took possession of this far from brilliant heritage with a temper of mind impatient of its trammels; and was impelled to seek, by means of martial enterprise, a position more commensurate with his wishes. At this epoch he was a fiery youth of two-and-twenty, qualified, by the prepossessing friendliness of his manners and address, to awaken confidence in the hearts of all around him. In every situation, oppressed with the greatest cares and anxieties, Rudolph remained tranquil and cheerful. His manners had the unconstrained simplicity and openness which characterize a truly great man.

At first, indeed, fired with impatience for higher fortunes, Rudolph despised the paths of timid prudence; and started,

like a thoughtless, hot-headed youth in his career. This excessive eagerness rather impeded than aided his purposes. Before he had attained his fortieth year, he had drawn on himself the hatred of his father's relations, was disinherited by his uncle on the mother's side, and excommunicated more than once by the church. Afterwards, however, when such checks had taught him prudence, and he had learned to subdue his passions, his affairs took a better aspect. A memorable evidence, observes Müller, that fiery youths should not allow the vigor which resides in them to be relaxed by disgust at the past errors of their youth, but should manfully struggle onwards in unshaken hope of better times.

About this period (1254) the extinction of the imperial house of Hohenstaufen took place; and disorder reached a higher pitch in Germany than ever, as the empire remained long without a head. In these times, which were called the Interregnum, injustice and violence gained the upper hand in a frightful manner. The corporal right of the strongest, called *faustrecht*, was the only one which was held in any respect, and discord rent asunder the bonds of order and morality. The greater princes broke loose from their ties towards the empire, waged wars amongst themselves, and were in no haste to elect an emperor. The castles of the nobles, which still frowned on every eminence, were just so many nests of birds of prey. Highway robbery was regarded as a knightly sport, an honorable source of gain, or an innocent amusement. Armed gangs lurked in every corner, ready to pounce upon travellers, to levy contributions on them, or rather to seize their whole property:—happy were those allowed to escape with bare life and freedom.

No German prince was willing to start as a candidate for the crown, which an Englishman, duke Richard of Cornwall, had shortly before actually *bought* of the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz and the rest of the electoral princes for a much larger amount of solid gold than it was worth. So low had the opinion of the imperial dignity fallen, that it had now become an object of distrust or contempt. Every one chose rather to take advantage of the prevailing anarchy, in order, by oppression of the feeble, to promote his own personal aggrandizement, than to join in any effort for the general welfare. In circumstances like these, disorder necessarily increased daily; acts of violence became more and more frequent, so that the greater and lesser princes and counts, prelates, knights, and towns, lived in perpetual and destructive feuds with each other; the stronger fell on the weaker; and the well-disposed and peaceable sighed with their whole soul for an emperor to protect and defend them.

Shortly before this miserable epoch, in which Helvetia with the rest of the German empire was delivered over to every species of violence and injustice, the three districts of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, closed their first league for mutual aid and defence with Zurich.

It would have been easy for count Rudolph to co-operate with the other nobility for the oppression of the towns and rural districts of Helvetia. But he possessed the rare faculty of extracting the best uses from all circumstances amongst which he lived, and preferred to protect the citizens and country people against the violence of the great, and of the wild robber chivalry. As military commandant of the town and country districts, by using the arms and treasures of the burghers, he undermined in succession each of his noble rivals, of whom many in birth and power were his equals, many his superiors. The imperial towns and free lands in Helvetia which would have found, but for Rudolph, no protection against injuries, threw themselves unconditionally into his arms. The burghers, whose civic rights and regulations had accustomed them more to order and obedience than the nobles, chained conquest, as it were, to the banners of Rudolph; through their discipline, the main requisite to military success. Their industry and traffic furnished him with the means of protracting, without damage to himself, feuds which impoverished the nobility, and of winning superiority by delay; and as he constantly displayed affability even towards the lowest, with all the other qualities which most adorn princes, the good fortune by which he never was forsaken won him the confidence and love of the whole people, while similar good fortune in others would only have awakened alarm and envy.

Rudolph's grandfather, in 1210, had obtained for his house the vogt-ship, or office of imperial bailiff, over the three lands of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden. This vogt-ship was at that time felt as a burden by a free people; and it was only with reluctance that they yielded to necessity. Finally, in 1240, they were enabled to shake it off. In the Italian wars of Frederick II. a select band from the forest cantons served him with extraordinary courage and fidelity. Even excommunication, which terrified so many, could effect no alteration in their fearless adherence. In return, and as a token of his favor, Frederick relieved them from the vogt-ship of Hapsburg, and gave to each district a charter of enfranchisement, importing that the men of Schwytz had of their own accord chosen the immediate protection of the emperor. But when this headless empire, in the years of the interregnum, was turned into a theatre of discord, and on every side was delivered up as a spoil to rapine and violence, these districts volun-

tarily renewed the abolished office in 1257, in order to acquire in Rudolph of Hapsburg a powerful ally—a generally beloved and brave leader. Shortly afterwards Zurich also conferred on him the office of her military protector, which had already been refused by the arrogant baron Luthold of Regensburg, who, according to his own expression, regarded the town as caught in a net, surrounded as it was by his castles. From 1266 to 1268 these fortresses of his were taken one by one by those burghers whose alliance he had repelled, led by the holder of that office which he had scornfully rejected. Utzenberg, a fortress of Luthold's ally, the count of Toggenburg, had the same fate, and the trade of Zurich flourished in greater security.

Thus Rudolph supported the towns and rural districts, and employed their co-operation, in return, to break the force of his own personal antagonists. While his feud continued yet undecided with Regensburg and Toggenburg, and in order to meet with less divided forces the bishop of Basle, against whom he was also engaged in hostilities, he disarmed, by friendly surprise and cordial advances, abbot Berchtold of St. Gall, who was already preparing to take the field against him. The abbot now supported instead of opposing him: the town of Basle soon came to terms: the bishop also, after his lands had been laid waste, purchased peace. This was, however, not of long continuance: hostilities were renewed upon the first pretence which offered; and Rudolph again laid siege to the town in 1273, when the intelligence arrived that the electors assembled at Frankfort had chosen him for emperor, on the ground that he was one of the most upright in times of prevalent injustice. His election had been principally owing to the influence of Werner, archbishop of Mentz, who, on a journey several years before into Italy, had been treated in an uncommonly friendly manner by the pious count Rudolph of Hapsburg; and had said to him on taking leave that he only hoped to live long enough in some degree to repay his kindness. Now when, on the death of Richard of Cornwall, those princes who assumed to themselves the right of election to the vacant throne were assembled for that purpose at Frankfort, he proposed to them the pious count of Hapsburg, as the worthiest possible object for their choice. The burggrave Frederick of Nuremberg, a near relation of Rudolph, echoed his praises; and as most of the electors chanced to be unmarried men, he hinted to them that Rudolph had six daughters at their disposal in marriage. Upon this hint, the affair was arranged with marvellous celerity, and the election to the empire wore the air of a family compact. Basle opened her gates to the new emperor; while the bishop, almost beside himself with

rage and consternation, cried, *Lord God! set thyself fast upon thy throne, else surely will this Rudolph pluck thee down from it.*

Rudolph, however, was not to be dazzled by the brilliance of his new elevation, as little souls are apt to be on less accessions of dignity. He preserved his affability, forgot not his old friends; and it was long before "commodity, the bias of the world," made him deviate from the wise moderation displayed in the first years of his government. He not only continued the chartered franchises of the imperial towns and territories in Switzerland, but also those of Lucerne, Soleure, Schaffhausen, Mulhausen, and others. He raised the abbot of Einsiedlen and the bishop of Lausanne to the dignity of princes of the empire. On the other hand, in recompense for his benefits, he enjoyed the firm adherence of the mass of the population. Auxiliaries from Switzerland distinguished themselves fighting at his side against the powerful king of Bohemia. The men of Zurich formed part of his body-guard, and the treasures of the town supplied him with loans.

But with the increase of the emperor's fortune some alteration took place, during the latter years of his government, in the uprightness of his character. Like most princes, whose throne is not hereditary, he sought to aggrandize his house by every means during his lifetime. Already, with the consent of the German princes, he had raised his sons, Rudolph and Albert, to the dukedom of Swabia and of Austria. He next turned his views upon Helvetia, and commenced hostile measures against Berne and Savoy. Rudolph had conceived the idea of restoring the old kingdom of Burgundy, for the benefit of his favorite son Hartmann: this involved him in warfare with the house of Savoy, whose possessions were put in jeopardy by his project. The emperor made two successful campaigns against this house; but the object of his whole undertaking was frustrated by the early death of Hartmann, who was drowned in the Rhine.

Not more fortunate in its issue was the feud of Rudolph with Berne, which he besieged with 15,000 men in 1288. He was soon, however, obliged to draw off his forces, as the military skill of those times could effect nothing against a town surrounded on three sides by a rapid stream, protected by steep banks and walls, and defended by stout burghers. An attempt to take the town by surprise in the following year was frustrated by the resolute self-devotion of the citizens, and the timely aid of Wale of Gruyeres. From this time forth the emperor ceased to meddle much with Helvetia; and, three years afterwards, death put an end to his far-prospective purposes. Eighteen years after his accession to the throne, or, to

use the expression ascribed to himself, "after he had been raised from the hut of his father to the palace of the emperor," in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he fell ill on a journey to Spire, and died at the town of Germersheim, which he himself had founded. Except when the ambition to enlarge his domains misled him into abuse of his good fortune, his dealings had been mostly upright and equitable; and so highly had his administration in civil affairs been popular, that his memory was long held in honor; and "*He has not Rudolph's plain dealing,*" was a common saying in Germany.

Although the restoration of peace in the empire procured safety and protection for the upper ranks, yet the lower were still subjected to multiplied oppressions. Innumerable castles of barons, counts, and other nobles, were spread over the whole face of the country. With the increased taste for splendor, excited by attendance upon courts and tournaments, and with the discovery of new modes of luxury, new wants were created in proportion. These were supplied, in many cases, by rich revenues, water and land tolls, imposts and dues of different kinds, which were paid by serfs and vassals, ground and quit rents, hens, eggs, &c. Others were not contented with hereditary possessions. The emperor Albert himself doubled the taxes in his domains; and many powerful men did the same. Similar sources of revenue were enjoyed by the spiritual dignitaries and cloisters: all of these, the mendicant orders only excepted, possessed sovereign power over their vassals.

From this time forward many monasteries succeeded, through papal or episcopal favor, in appropriating to themselves the tithes of churches and parishes: this was called *incorporating*; and the only charge which lay upon the new tithe appropriators was the acquittal of certain very limited payments to the priests, with the additional obligation, in some cases, of repairing the church buildings, and relieving the poor. Many nobles sought and found improvement of their fortunes in the holding of offices under lords spiritual or secular; and there were others who, from this period till far into the following century, drove a regular trade of robbery in the neighborhood of their strong-holds. They imposed contributions on their neighbors, waylaid passing tradesmen and travellers, sometimes took them prisoners, and compelled them to pay ransoms.

Here and there bondsmen had succeeded in buying themselves free of their obligations, or in holding their lands as hereditary fiefs, in consideration of certain fixed annual payments. Freedmen of this kind, indeed, as yet were rare; but out of them a new class of peasantry gradually formed itself;

and those who had bought themselves wholly free came at length to be ranked in the same line with the previously existing class of freemen.

Heavy oppression, however, weighed on the great body of bondsmen. They were bound to an infinite number of services; chained to the glebe which they cultivated; were not even allowed to marry without leave from their lords; and the children belonged to whatever master the parents had belonged to. On the death of a serf, a portion more or less of his effects, such as his best head of cattle, his best clothes or arms, were regularly claimed by the lord. Nevertheless the rights of the liege lord, as well as their practical exercise, exhibited considerable varieties.

In the towns which exempted themselves by purchase from their dues and obligations towards their spiritual and temporal lords, or acquired extended franchises as a reward for services done to the latter, knowledge, and the arts of life diffused themselves. Since the close of the twelfth century, the language of the country was more and more employed in public transactions, and now began distinctly to assume that character from which the modern German has developed itself. Those who possessed superior knowledge were treated with respect; poetry became a favorite occupation among the cultivated part of the nobility, which formed in those times a larger proportion than in the subsequent centuries; and men of talent in the class of burghers united in the same study. These poets, who received the name of Minnesingers, selected the subjects of their verse from the more tender passions, and the pleasures or vicissitudes of life, and taught lessons of practical wisdom through the medium of examples and apologues. In the towns also, exclusively of the cloisters, schools were established, which, notwithstanding their deficiencies, could not fail to produce good effects.

Through the unlimited power of the hierarchy, and notwithstanding the energetic resistance of several bishops and abbots, the opinion had been almost universally diffused, that whatever the church, that is to say, the pope, erected as a rule of faith, must be received with implicit credence; and that out of the pale of that church was no salvation. The conservation of what was called the true faith was intrusted to the order of Dominicans. Imprisonment, torture, death at the stake, were the destiny of heretics. But as the human mind struggles with most vehemence under external pressure, independent opinions became too rife to be crushed by persecution: the effect of these was aided by the abandoned lives of the clergy, of whom a large number were hated by the people. The monastery of Ruti near Rappersweil was pulled

down, while yet unfinished, by the neighboring peasantry; and while, on the one hand, these foundations were enriched and multiplied, on the other they remained a constant mark for the rapacity of the more powerful nobles. The authority of the papal court itself often found in cloisters and monasteries the most determined resistance; and the earliest energetic reaction against it was brought on by the unparalleled assumptions of Boniface VIII., the contemporary of Albert of Hapsburg. This prelate had explicitly advanced the doctrine, that all secular power was only held by princes in trust from the pope, and remained at his discretion and disposal. It was precisely this excess of oppression which, as commonly is the case, brought the world by degrees to its senses. The papal bulls were powerless against Philip the Fair of France, although his character was by no means free from blame. The pope's inflexibility in this instance was of evil consequence only to himself; and the power of princes, at least in temporal matters, became gradually placed on a firmer footing.

CHAPTER V.

ERA OF HELVETIC EMANCIPATION.

1308—1334.

Albert of Hapsburg.—Aims at Erecting a Dukedom in Helvetia.—Tyranny of Gessler and Berenger.—Oath of Rutli.—William Tell.—Death of Gessler.—Capture of Rotzberg and Sarnen.—League of the three Forest Cantons.—Death of Albert of Hapsburg.—Cruel Revenge for his Murder.—Recognition of Swiss Freedom.—Invasion of Switzerland by Duke Leopold.—Battle of Morgarten.—Perpetual Confederacy of the Forest Cantons.—Six Years' Truce with Austria.—Siege of Soleure.—Magnanimity of the besieged Burghers.—Renewal of the Truce with Austria.—Reception of Lucerne in the Confederacy.—State of Industry—Commerce—and Religion.

ALBERT, the eldest and sole surviving son of Rudolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the imperial house of Austria, united with undoubted bravery other respectable qualities. But he was hard, unfeeling, rapacious and unscrupulous in his views of aggrandizement. That cheerful adhesion and confidence which had attended his father's administration, and even the first years of his own, were soon succeeded by opposite feelings. He was feared by all, hated by many, loved by none, and the father's truest friends were speedily alienated by the son. No sooner had the men of Schwytz heard of his accession, than they hastened to renew their league of reciprocal protection. Albert was resolved to succeed to all the honors of Rudolph, during whose lifetime attempts had been made to secure the imperial crown for him. At that time the princes had the pru-

dence to defer the nomination of an emperor. But on Rudolph's death Albert made so sure of the succession, that he seized on the imperial insignia without waiting for the decision of a diet. He now received the first proof of the disesteem in which he was held, by his claims being entirely overlooked in the election, which fell upon count Adolphus of Nassau. But the new emperor possessing neither power nor popularity, and having besides contrived to disoblige the archbishop of Mentz, whose influence had a principal share in raising him to the throne, he was very soon deposed from it, through the agency of that prelate, at a diet of the electors held in Mentz; and Albert, who in the interim had conciliated their suffrages, was raised to the imperial throne in his stead. This illegal act was shortly after ratified by the fortune of war; and in a final throw for empire, Adolphus lost his crown and his life.

Albert aimed at erecting a new dukedom in Helvetia, and at uniting all the scattered domains of his family by the acquisition of whatever lands of others lay between them. He proposed to the free and contented inhabitants of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, whose districts inconveniently separated his rich possessions, to exchange their direct dependence on the empire for the more powerful and permanent protection of the house of Austria. But the foresters viewed with fixed distrust the advances of their emperor; they were perfectly well acquainted with the value of their own freedom, and were the less likely to barter it for Austrian protection, as they had long regarded with anxious apprehension the increasing power acquired by the house of Hapsburg. They accordingly made answer, that their only wish and prayer was, to be left in the condition of their forefathers. They begged that they might not be taken from under the guardianship of the empire, and subjected to that of any one prince in particular. Moreover, they demanded the appointment of imperial commissaries (landvogts or bailiffs), in order to be relieved from the administration of Albert's officers, whom he had set over them, contrary to established rights and usages. Albert complied with this demand; but, in order to disunite and harass them, he sent, instead of one vogt, two. These were, Hermann Gessler of Brauneck, and Berenger of Landenberg; men of rude and imperious temper, who, as if their master's instructions were not arbitrary and large enough, interpreted them in the most extended sense, and indulged their personal pride by a haughty deportment towards the people, who were wholly unaccustomed to such treatment. Remonstrances and complaints to the emperor only redoubled the wrongs complained of; and these were barbed by insults more provoking than the wrongs themselves. Excessive tolls and duties, and unprecedented imposts

for the maintenance of garrisons, formed an item in the list of grievances. Gessler built a fortress at the foot of the St. Gothard, which he insolently named Uri's Restraint. Landenberg went on with equal violence in Unterwalden, where Henry of Halden, an aged and zealous friend of freedom, lived in the Melchthal. Landenberg imposed the fine of a yoke of oxen on this man, for some slight, or pretended offence of his son, Arnold of the Melchthal. On his hesitating to give them up, Landenberg's messenger sneeringly said, that if the boors wished to have bread to eat, they might draw the plow themselves. On hearing this, the young man Arnold, yielding to a fit of passion, broke one of the servant's fingers, and fled from the bailiff's vengeance. Landenberg had the father of the fugitive arrested, and demanded to know his son's place of concealment. It was vain for the old man to protest ignorance—not only were his oxen seized, and a heavy fine imposed upon him, but his eyes were put out to expiate the venial act of his son. That puncture, says an old historian, went so deep into many a heart, that many resolved to die rather than leave it unrequited.

Every act of Albert's vogts seemed purposely adapted either to crush all independence of feeling, or to provoke the people to some precipitate act of overt resistance. Those whom the vogts thought fit to regard as dangerous, were, in spite of the ancient popular franchises, sent to foreign prisons. At Altorf, Gessler caused a hat to be set upon a pole, as a symbol of the sovereign power of Austria, and ordered that all who passed by should uncover their heads, and bow before it. He taunted Werner Stauffacher, a freeman entitled to bear arms, at Steinen, in the district of Schwytz, "that he, a vile peasant, should have built himself a new house, without asking permission of his liege lords." This man, who had the fortune to possess a wife of good understanding, communicated by her advice with other men of like dispositions, who felt with pain equal to his own the daily aggravated oppressions borne by their countrymen, as well as the affronts offered personally to themselves. He selected for his first confidants, Walter Furst of Uri, and the deeply aggrieved Arnold of the Melchthal. They bound themselves by oath to endure no longer the degrading wrongs inflicted on their countrymen, to restore their ancient freedom, and to league themselves for that purpose with other men deserving of their confidence; above all, to expel the domineering vogts, but without throwing off their allegiance to the emperor and the empire.

When one and the same resentment of injustice is extended over whole tracts of country, the communications of resolute men are sure to be met speedily by individual confidence and

adhesion. Each of the sworn confederates chose confidants. They were wont to assemble, at first accompanied only by few, in the dead of night, at Rutli, a meadow slope under the Seelisberg by the lake of Uri, to consult for the salvation of their country, and to give and receive intelligence of the progress of their efforts, and the friends who had been won to their cause. At length on Martinmas-eve (11th November), 1307, Walter Furst, Werner Stauffacher, and Arnold of the Melchthal, each brought to the accustomed place of rendezvous ten trusty companions, to whom they had confided their enterprise. These three-and-thirty clasped each other's hands, and took a solemn engagement that no one would ever desert the rest, and that all would devote their united strength to restore their invaded franchises, without, however, despoiling others of their goods, their rights, or their lives. At the moment when the beams of morning struck the neighboring Alps, and seemed as signal-fires to light them on their enterprise, the three leaders raised their hands with their comrades, and swore a league by that God who fashioned all men for equal freedom. The men of Schwytz and Uri wished to proceed to the immediate execution of their project; but those of Unterwalden, who did not feel assured that they could take easy possession of the fortresses, advised delay, and their reasons found acquiescence.

Soon after occurred the famous episode of William Tell,* momentous to the main plot in its issue. This man, who was one of the sworn at Rutli, and noted for his high and daring spirit, exposed himself to arrest by Gessler's myrmidons, for passing the hat without making obeisance. Whispers of conspiracy had already reached the vogt, and he expected to extract some farther evidence from Tell on the subject. Offended by the man's obstinate silence, he gave loose to his tyrannical humor, and knowing that Tell was a good archer, commanded him to shoot from a great distance at an apple on the head of his child. God, says an old chronicler, was with him; and the vogt, who had not expected such a specimen of skill and fortune, now cast about for new ways to entrap the object of his malice; and, seeing a second arrow in his quiver, asked him what that was for? Tell replied, evasively, that such was the usual practice of archers. Not content with this reply, the vogt pressed on him farther, and assured him of his life, whatever the arrow might have been meant for. "Vogt," said Tell, "had I shot my child, the second shaft was for THEE; and be sure I should not have missed my mark a second time!" Transported with rage not unmixed with terror, Gessler exclaimed, "Tell! I have promised thee life, but thou shalt pass

* See the Appendix.

it in a dungeon." Accordingly, he took boat with his captive, intending to transport him across the lake to Kussnacht in Schwytz, in defiance of the common right of the district, which provided that its natives should not be kept in confinement beyond its borders. A sudden storm on the lake overtook the party; and Gessler was obliged to give orders to loose Tell from his fetters, and commit the helm to his hands, as he was known for a skilful steersman. Tell guided the vessel to the foot of the great Axenberg, where a ledge of rock, distinguished to the present day as Tell's platform, presented itself as the only possible landing-place for leagues around. Here he seized his cross-bow, and escaped by a daring leap, leaving the skiff to wrestle its way in the billows. The vogt also escaped the storm, but only to meet a fate more signal from Tell's bow in the narrow pass near Kussnacht. The tidings of his death enhanced the courage of the people, but also alarmed the vigilance of their rulers, and greatly increased the dangers of the conspirators, who kept quiet. These occurrences marked the close of 1307.

On new-year's eve, 1308, the conspirators obtained possession of the castle of Rotzberg in Nidwalden. A girl had drawn one of them, who was her lover, up at midnight, by a rope, into the castle; by his assistance twenty more were introduced in the same manner, and the garrison, thus surprised, was overpowered without difficulty. With morning-dawn, twenty men of Oberwalden went with new-year's presents to the castle at Sarnen. Berenger, who was coming out to church, let them enter the gates without hindrance, seeing them unarmed. Whereupon they fixed on their staves the pike-heads which they had carried concealed, and blew the agreed signal-note on their horns to thirty others, who lay in ambush and armed in the neighboring alders. These hastened up, and this formidable strong-hold was thus captured almost without resistance. The garrison was dismissed free, on taking a solemn engagement not to revenge the past, and not to overstep their assigned limits. The triumphant people now demolished several other fortresses, amongst the rest, the unhappy Gessler's yet unfinished *Restraint of Uri*. The nobles gladly joined the league of freemen and vassals, as they preferred sharing their freedom, to becoming slaves along with them; and on the following Sunday the three lands engaged themselves reciprocally through their envoys in the terms of the same oath which had been taken at Rutli. But, as generally happens to the founders of great changes, they were far from forming an adequate idea of what they had done.

Albert, whose unquiet and grasping policy was continually provoking fresh enemies, had just seen his project of annexing

Bohemia to his family domains frustrated, and in Thuringia his Swabian troops had suffered a severe defeat. He heard with great indignation the revolt of the forest cantons; but he wished first to finish another feud which he had begun, with slight pretence of right, against Otho of Granson, bishop of Basle, and accordingly laid siege to his castle of Furstenstein. At the same time, he forbade the inhabitants of Lucerne, Zug, and the rest of his subjects on the frontiers, all intercourse with the forest cantons, and excluded the latter from entrance into the markets of the former.

Duke John, son of the late duke Rudolph, who had already reached his twentieth year, and saw the sons of the emperor enjoying high consideration and dignities, had often begged the emperor, his uncle, to make over to him his father's domains, or a part of them. But the emperor put him off, and on the renewal of his entreaties, is said to have reached him a coronet which he had made of a broken twig, with the words, that this would become him better than ruling lands and people. The insulted youth knew that this refusal of the emperor was displeasing to both spiritual and temporal lords; he knew the hatred felt for Albert by the nobility of the Thurgau and the Aargau (districts upon which he himself had claims), and he also knew their favorable disposition towards his own person. He seized the opportunity of the emperor's return, on the 1st of May, 1308, to Rheinfelden from his castle at Baden, where he had held a consultation with his intimate advisers on his enterprise against the three cantons; and just as Albert had crossed the Reuss at Windisch, and was separated from the rest of his suite for a moment, duke John, baron Walter of Eschenbach, and Rudolph of Balm fell upon him and murdered him in the face of open day, and left him to die in the lap of a poor woman on the spot. Terror and astonishment filled the whole land. The inhabitants of Zurich shook the dust from their gates, which had not been closed for thirty years previously. It was dreaded by the emperor's adherents that an extensive league had been formed against his house. On the other hand, the blinded assassins, after the deed was perpetrated, found out for the first time their want of support from any quarter, and now only endeavored to save their lives by a rapid flight. Elizabeth, the widow of the emperor, came to a compromise with the bishop of Basle, and issued warnings to the towns and villages not to give harbor or concealment to the murderers. Hostile preparations were not only suspended with regard to the three cantons, but intercourse and transport of goods were thrown open again between them and the territories of Austria, and advances made to a friendly understanding. They, who only sought to maintain their old rights,

and their immediate connexion with the empire, behaved themselves throughout with moderation and equity.

For some time after Albert's death, the house of Austria directed its whole efforts to secure the imperial crown for his eldest son Frederick. It was not until this scheme had failed of success with the German princes, who hated the whole family for Albert's sake, that the Austrians turned their thoughts to the execution of that revenge which they had resolved upon against the prince's murderers. The ban of the empire was pronounced upon them by the new emperor, Henry VII.; and as the murderers themselves were not to be found, their innocent relatives, friends, servants, and subjects were, with inhuman cruelty, hunted down and extirpated by the family of Albert. The principal promoter of these horrors was Agnes, queen of Hungary, the late emperor's daughter, a woman unacquainted with the milder feelings of piety, but addicted to a certain sort of devotional habits and practices, by no means inconsistent with implacable vindictiveness. In gratifying this passion, she forgot all female dignity; and is even said to have waded in the blood of three-and-sixty innocent sufferers, with the exulting exclamation, "This day we bathe in May-dew!" Not till numerous castles had been dismantled, the whole resources of multitudes annihilated, and more than a thousand innocent persons, men, women, and children, had perished by the hand of the executioner, was an end put to this series of horrors, by which indeed the wealth of the house of Austria was increased, but by which at the same time it had provoked so many enemies, that the consequences of these events contributed not a little to frustrate its designs against the freedom of Helvetia.

The emperor, Henry VII., who had testified his favor to the Austrians by the outlawry of the regicides, gave evidence, on the other hand, of his gracious disposition towards the forest cantons, by recognizing their freedom and independence on any power but that of the empire. The Austrian princes were highly displeased by this step; but being occupied with their bloody revenge for the murder of their late chief, they were obliged to suppress their anger for a season. The emperor imagined he had tranquillized Helvetia; but he had no sooner set out on an Italian expedition, than open hostilities broke out between the forest cantons and the subjects of Austria. These disturbances might probably have proved of no great consequence, if the emperor had not met his death in Italy. For the moment, indeed, another direction was given by that event to the ambition of the Austrian family, which now exerted every means in its power, for the second time, to secure the crown for Frederick, but in vain. A majority of

the electoral princes, still averse to that house, declared themselves for duke Louis of Bavaria. The latter candidate likewise enjoyed the adherence of the forest cantons, who had excellent reasons for wishing to see the imperial power in any hands rather than in those of a duke of Austria. This election contest proved the occasion of a furious war in Germany and Helvetia. In the latter country the old dispute about boundaries was revived between Einsiedlen and Schwytz, and was carried on by both sides with excessive heat and violence. Frederick, whose house had been invested with the protectoral rights of *kast-vogt** over Einsiedlen, used this dispute as a pretext to attack the forest cantons; and though Schwytz alone had offended in the matter, lanced the imperial ban against all three. Louis again absolved them from the sentence. On the other hand, duke Leopold prepared his whole powers at once to wreak the hereditary hatred of his family,—to protect the (alleged) rights of so renowned a religious foundation, and to revenge upon the forest cantons the slighted claims of his brother. He threatened to tread the boors under his feet, and carried with him wagons full of cordage wherewith to bind or hang up their ringleaders. He marched in person to Baden, where he held a council of war. A triple attack on the same day was resolved upon. The main body, 15,000 or 20,000 strong, was to advance from Zug under Leopold himself; count Otho of Strasburg, with 4000 men, were to march over the Brünig; 1000 Lucerners to cross the lake and fall in with the other forces at Stanzstadt in Unterwalden. The main army arrived at Zug in two divisions. Heavy-armed cavalry, then the pride and strength of armies, led the van in large troops, without sufficient discrimination of the mode of warfare demanded by the nature of the country. The flower of the nobility of Hapsburg was in this army, amongst others the ex-vogt Berenger of Landenberg, and Gessler's relations. Fifty burghers of Zurich also, all in uniform clothing, marched along with it, according to treaty. The duke himself, a tall majestic figure, presenting the very ideal of chivalrous heroism, rode in the front of his warriors, confident of victory; and dreamed not of the wonders which a people urged to extremities can achieve in the defence of its freedom.

The Schwytzers, whom the main attack threatened, were so far from being intimidated by it, that they scornfully rejected a dishonorable peace. On receiving reinforcements of 400 men from Uri, and 300 more from Unterwalden, they offered up their prayers to God, their only Lord and Master, according to ancient usage in the forest cantons, and stationed

* For an explanation of this title, turn to the foregoing chapter.

themselves, 1300 in number, on the ridge of the Sattel. An old man, Rudolph Reding of Bibereck, infirm in body, but listened to respectfully by the people for his military talents and experience, had given them the wise advice to take this position. If the narratives of several historians are to be trusted, Reding's advice was grounded on a specific warning received from Henry of Hünenburg, an Austrian noble, who had shot into the Swiss outposts an arrow with a label bearing the inscription, "Beware of Morgarten!" and had thus given them previous information of Leopold's plans, whether moved by love of freedom, or by natural compassion for the imminent destruction of so many brave men. On the eve of the battle fifty men appeared before the lines of the Schwytzers. These had been banished their country during the former times of disturbance; but as soon as they were acquainted with its danger, they resolved, by joining the combatants for freedom, to become once more worthy of the land they had lost. The forest cantons, however, would not admit them within their frontiers, nor receive them in the ranks of their combatants. Nevertheless they remained true to their purpose. They stationed themselves just beyond the frontiers on an eminence above Morgarten, and prepared to act their part in the reception of the enemy.

On the 15th November, 1315, with the first dawn of day, the Austrian troops made their appearance. The helmets and cuirasses of the knights gleamed in the sunshine. As far as the eye could reach glittered the spears of the first army which had ever been drawn out against the forest cantons; and the Swiss may be supposed to have contemplated so novel a phenomenon with emotion. The narrow way between the ridge of Morgarten and the lake was soon crowded with the close column of horsemen. This was the instant chosen by the fifty Swiss exiles, who had collected fragments of rocks and trunks of trees during the night, and now hurled them on the enemy from their height, crushing horse and man. A mode of attack so startling produced terrible disorder. The horses became restive, reared, threw their riders, broke the ranks, and many of them plunged into the lake. The Swiss troops on the Sattel took advantage of this moment of panic. They rushed down hill in tolerable order, fell on the enemy's flank, struck down the heavy-armed knights by the vigorous use of their clubs and halberts, and completed the confusion of the Austrians, whom the slippery state of the half-frozen road rendered yet more helpless, and unfit for making any defence. The knights attempted to fall back on the infantry, and to gain room; but the latter had not space to open their files. Many of them consequently were trodden down by the

cavalry—many cut to pieces by the confederates—no prisoners made—no quarter given. The Austrians lost the flower of their nobility; and amongst them fell two Gesslers, with the ex-tyrant Landenberg. The infantry suffered even more severely, as the narrowness of the defile afforded no room for their evolutions. After a slight resistance, the whole mass was dispersed in disorderly flight. The fifty men of Zurich alone, with those of Zug, had fought bravely; and were slain man by man upon the spot where they had stood. The whole affair was terminated by nine o'clock A. M.; and thus the Schwytzers won a complete victory in the space of an hour and a half, through the courage and dexterity with which they took advantage of the nature of the ground, and of the injudicious confidence of their enemy. Leopold's adherents had with difficulty succeeded in saving the duke's person from the horrors of the fight.

On the following morning count Otho of Strasburg marched, with several thousand troops, over the Brünig on Obwalden, in concert with 1300 men of Lucerne, who landed at Bürgenstadt. These were met by the victorious men of Unterwalden, reinforced by 100 fresh volunteers, and were forced back on their ships with great loss. Strasburg's troops also, struck with panic, took to flight on all sides, leaving their baggage behind them.

It was easy to foresee that no permanent tranquillity would be procured to the three cantons by their victory; they were therefore obliged to study means of rallying their forces for the farther prosecution of the conflict; and the most effectual seemed to be a permanent confederacy. On the 13th of December, 1315, the envoys of the forest cantons held a meeting at Brunen, to conclude a perpetual league of self-defence against all internal and external enemies—a league, to use the words of the great annalist of Switzerland,* distinguished from most political arrangements and alliances, by extreme simplicity and innocence;—by seeking, not the attainment of interested or ambitious ends, but the welfare of the public alone, and the preservation of freedom, justice, and peace; and, finally, by calling a federal state into existence, which resisted the assaults of time during so long a period, only because it was not grounded, like other federal unions of that century, merely on commercial connexions, but on the maintenance of the holiest rights of humanity—a noble end, extorting respect even from the most rapacious neighbors, until at length the hour arrived (that of the French revolution), destined to establish a new order in the world, to separate the

* J. von Müller.

durable from the decayed and obsolete social elements, to bring about the destruction of much evil, the continuance, or at least the regeneration, of much good. This league was long the only bond and law of the confederacy; but before the close of the sixteenth century, a Frenchman found occasion to write—“*Laxata sunt invicti illius fœderis vincula negligentia reipublicæ.*” It was about this time that the name of *Swiss* came first into use with their neighbors, as a general designation for the members of the confederacy, which may be accounted for by the chief part having been acted by the Schwytzers, in the feud with Einsiedlen, and the battle of Morgarten.

On the 19th of June, 1318, a peace, or rather truce for a year, on equitable terms, was concluded between Austria and the confederates, which was afterwards prolonged to six years. By the terms of this armistice the freedom of the confederates received fresh confirmation: on the other hand, they bound themselves to enforce within their territories the payment of all revenues belonging to the duchy of Austria. In the mean time, notwithstanding the external show of repose, frequent occasions of offence kept up the old grudge on both sides.

The dukes, after the ill success of their arms against the confederates, turned them next against the other adherents of Louis. Duke Leopold laid siege, with a strong body of men, for ten weeks, to the town of Soleure, which espoused the Bavarian interest. With the aid of the Bernese, however, the town was so well defended, that he sought in vain to force it to capitulate, and equally in vain endeavored to terrify its commandant, count Hugo of Bucheck, by threatening him, unless he would surrender the town, with the death of his eldest son, who was a prisoner. Father and son alike despised the menace. Another proof of no less magnanimity, the more deserving remark, as it occurred in an age when all extremities were looked upon as allowable against an enemy, was given to duke Leopold in the course of this siege. He had caused a bridge to be thrown across the Aar, above Soleure, in order to cut off supplies from the town, as well as to keep up communication between the divisions of his army upon both sides of the river. This structure was, however, soon in danger from the force of the stream, which heavy rains had swelled to an unusual height. In this emergency, Leopold had it loaded with stones, and posted a body of troops upon it; but the bridge, unable to bear the double weight, gave way, and Leopold's soldiers were plunged into the rapid stream below. At such a moment the men of Soleure regarded them not as enemies, but as fellow-men, in need of assistance. They threw themselves into the river, at great risk to themselves, and not

only rescued their foes from death, but cherished and restored them in the town, and sent them back to the camp without exacting ransom. This trait of generosity touched the prince, who was far from being destitute of that quality. Moreover, he had small remaining hope of success, and was no longer disposed to contend in arms where he had already been overcome in magnanimity. He requested entrance into the town, with a train of thirty knights only; made a present to the burghers of a banner; and concluded with them an honorable peace.

The treaty betwixt Austria and the confederates had lasted about six years, when Louis summoned the Schwytzers, in 1323, to aid in the war of the empire against Austria. In this, as in its former contests, the latter power was unsuccessful; and duke Leopold's life is supposed to have been shortened by disappointment. In 1326, the armistice with Switzerland was renewed by his brother and successor, duke Albert. In the same year the forest cantons, which adhered with remarkable loyalty to the emperor, followed him in an expedition to Italy. Excommunicated on that account in 1328, they knew, as they had known before, how to reduce to nothing the force of that so much dreaded sentence, by setting the alternative before their priests, of doing their duty, or of leaving the country. Against such determined resolution, pope John XXI. felt himself powerless, and said of the clergy who chose to remain in the country, that their conduct was unrighteous, but prudent. In fact, the pope had never any power against the people, but only against princes whom he robbed of the people's fidelity. The cantons were in such high esteem with the emperor, on account of their unvarying attachment, that in 1316, an imperial decree annihilated all the rights of Austria in their territory.

In 1332 the forest cantons admitted a fourth member to partake in their perpetual union. We have already seen that the town of Lucerne, in the reign of the emperor Rudolph, had come, by an iniquitous purchase, under the power of Austria. It was only the most flattering promises which induced the town to subject itself to the new domination; but no long time had elapsed before these promises were forgotten, and the Austrians began to encroach beyond their just rights. However discontentedly this was seen by the burghers, they nevertheless bore it with patience, nay, exerted themselves actively in the cause of the house of Austria, and in the wars against the forest cantons suffered extensive losses. By way of showing gratitude for these services, the dukes withheld the subsidies which had been promised to the town, and forced upon it depreciated coins, and augmented imposts. An opin-

ion had, however, gained ascendancy, that even the power of princes had its limits, and that the chartered rights of freemen must not be sacrificed entirely to these earthly divinities. The burghers therefore assembled, and concluded a twenty years' peace with the confederates. The nobles opposed a violent resistance to the measure, of which the only result was, that a second popular meeting closed an everlasting league with the forest cantons.

The men of Lucerne, however, like their confederates, were forced to pay the price of freedom in blood. A treacherous attempt of the Argovian nobility, whose property lay within the Austrian territory, and who first had recourse to open war, but in vain, was fortunately frustrated by the steadiness of the burghers; and an armistice at length took place, by the emperor's mediation, between Austria and the forest cantons, by the terms of which Lucerne preserved its league with the three others, with reservation of the rights and dues of Austria.

Notwithstanding all the feuds and disturbances, which crowded upon each other during so short a time, prosperity made progress in the land. Towns and convents vied with each other in diffusing cultivation even throughout the wildest mountainous regions. Considerable commercial intercourse also was maintained with Italy, Germany, France, and Flanders. Zurich and St. Gall possessed linen and silk manufactures; the pasture lands produced hides, wool, cheese, and butter; in Berne and Freyburg, cloth-making and dyeing establishments flourished; the western districts traded in iron, horses, hawks, and horned cattle; Geneva in southern fruits and spices. The trade in gold was prohibited, and that of silver restricted.

Religion still appeared in all its primitive simplicity. Wealthy knights still knew no better method of perpetuating their memory in the land than through the medium of bequests for the foundation of cloisters. The respect in which the monks were held, however, already began to decline, by reason of their flagrant violations of the rules of their order, in spite of frequent attempts at reformation of their discipline. Accordingly, no fault was found with the conduct of the forest cantons, who, when under excommunication, as we have seen, in 1328 left their priests free to perform divine service or quit the country. No fault was found with the clergy for accepting the former alternative. Again, it was heard without disapprobation that the men of Basle had seized on a distinguished papal legate, who had dared to affix to the walls of their church the bull of excommunication against the emperor Louis, and had drowned him in the Rhine. Such violent acts were perfectly

in the spirit of the times. The Zurichers cared so little for the bulls of the pope, that in 1331 they drove the clergy out of their town for obeying them; and for eighteen years there was no divine service in Zurich, except such as was rendered by the bare-footed friars. The whole population often resisted ecclesiastical ordinances, when they ran against their old traditional usages, and detected with instinctive sagacity whatever was indifferent or useless in them. Such was in those times the state of Switzerland, which contained sufficient elements of those great changes which we shall presently see effected in its polity.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF ZURICH TO THE LEAGUE WITH APPENZELL.

1335—1412.

Situation of Zurich.—Character of the Burghers.—Form of Government.—Rudolph Brun.—Excites a Revolutionary movement.—Elected Burgo-master for Life.—Defeats a Conspiracy of the Nobles.—Applies for Aid to the Forest Cantons against duke Albert of Austria.—The latter besieges Zurich.—Is compelled to raise the Siege.—League of the eight original Towns and Lands of the Confederacy.—Peace of Thorberg.—Character of Rudolph Brun.—His treacherous Compact with Austria.—Berne.—Distinguished for a Spirit of Enterprise.—Obnoxious to the bordering Nobility.—Attacked by the combined Force of the Nobles and the Emperor.—Battle of Laupen.—Berne's Plans of Aggrandizement.—Roger Manesse's wise Administration of Zurich.—Decline of the Nobility and Clergy.—Berne and Soleure defeat the Count of Kyburg.—Duke Leopold of Austria enters Switzerland.—Battle of Sempach.—Arnold of Winkelried.—The bad Peace.—Unexpected Inroad of the Austrians.—Battle of Naefels.—Description of Rhetia.—The Men of Appenzell revolt from the Abbot of St. Gall.—Are reinforced by the Schwytzers.—Engage an Austrian army at the Stoss.—Again at the Wolfshald.—Defeated at Bregenz.—Received as Allies of the Confederacy.—Renewal of the twenty years' Truce with Austria.

On the pleasant site of the old Helvetian Thuricum stood the town of Zurich, long renowned for industry, intelligence, wealth not too unequally distributed, and genuine civic spirit in its burghers. A general and constant love of the laws had, for ages, been the chief support of their government. The cordial and familiar usages handed down from their forefathers did not easily admit of innovation; and these usages, as in free states they ought to be, were uniform and simple for all. The citizens retained their family names, even after they had acquired lands and lordships, and never became ashamed of their original vocations. The confluence of foreigners, and the general easy condition of the inhabitants, contributed to the flourishing appearance of the town. Nor were science and

art strangers in Zurich. The renowned songsters of those times, the Minnesingers, found hospitable welcome with the principal burghers. Nowhere more effect was produced than at Zurich by the doctrines (enlightened for those times) of Arnold of Brescia, a scholar of Abelard, and one of the most acute and inquiring spirits of his age. He gained there many adherents to those principles of resistance against clerical and papal usurpation, the expression of which he expiated afterwards at the stake. We have already seen, that even papal interdicts neither frightened nor subdued the men of Zurich. They often enacted laws which seemed oppressive to the clergy, who were placed by them on a footing of equality with other classes, and forced to bear their share of contributions to the public burdens. They resented with indomitable spirit the aggressions and affronts of the nobles, and repaid them by the capture and destruction of their strong-holds. Thus, Zurich enforced respect for herself from the proudest of her neighbors, and formed alliance with every free town from the Main to the St. Gothard. Yet, with a population exceeding 12,000, and consisting, for the most part, of free burghers, the town possessed hitherto no domain without its walls, except the forest on the banks of the Sihl.

The supreme powers of the state were vested, practically, in the council, a body consisting of twelve knights and twenty-four burghers, who exercised those powers by rotation, a third part of them holding office during four months, wielding, independently of the remaining two-thirds of its members, the whole executive functions of the commonwealth: powers rendered in some measure dictatorial and discretionary by the provision that, in unforeseen cases, they should act for the public interest, according to their best judgment. Thus the whole affairs of the state came by degrees under the management of a few influential families, principally attached to the pursuits of war and chivalry. The body of the citizens, the bold and intelligent traders and handicraftsmen, became tired, at length, of subordination to these dignitaries, especially as many practical grievances were complained of in their administration. It was said, they took no care but for themselves, and those who belonged to them; gave no reckoning of the moneys of the town; received the inferior burghers with intolerable haughtiness; proceeded, in short, in all respects, in an arbitrary manner. Discontent, for a while, exhaled in murmurs, till a member of the obnoxious body itself came forward, and made common cause with the disaffected burghers. This was Rudolph Brun, a man of noble birth and large fortune, a knight, and a member of council, who possessed precisely the qualities indispensable for a popular leader. His condescend-

ing familiarity made him a favorite of the common people, and he had skill to take advantage of every circumstance which offered, and to veil revenge or ambition under the aspect of true patriotism. That the cause which Brun espoused was good, is manifested by the warm participation of such men as Roger Manesse—that his heart was bad, has been probably inferred from the tenor of his public life. Revolutions would too often find but little favor in history, if their justification depended on the characters of their leaders.

Independence of feeling had planted itself amongst the burghers of Zurich, with the increase of their wealth and their knowledge, and prompted them to express more and more loudly their desire to be united in political guilds or companies. They listened, therefore, with open ears to Brun's representations that their rulers disregarded their duty, and were reducing the town, originally free, beneath the yoke of an intolerable tyranny; that he himself was hated by the council, because love to his fellow-citizens ever prompted him to lift his voice against these abuses; that the burghers could only free themselves by exerting their own strength, and that for his part he was ready to sacrifice life and estate in their service. His adherents increased daily in number. Many good and honorable men joined his party, who perceived the pressing need of a reformation in the state; many who might have been ill-used by a member of the council, or condemned by a judicial sentence, which was alleged of Brun himself; there were many in whose cases legal judgments had been given unfavorably, and, therefore, as to them, it would seem unjustly; many whom the subversion of the existing order might flatter with the hope of personal benefit, the re-establishment of a ruined, or the foundation of a new fortune; many, in fine, whom levity, a bold and lively temper, or a reckless and licentious disposition, prompted to take part in any daring design, which afforded hopes of disorder, and destruction of all legal and moral restraint.

On the 1st of May, 1335, the first section of the council was on the point of quitting office, while the second only waited for the sanction of the people, in order to succeed to its functions. Now, however, this necessary sanction was withheld until an account of the public money should be given; and this demand was supported in the council by Rudolph Brun, Roger Manesse, and by several other members. The rest, however, treated it as a popular ebullition, which in a short time would subside of itself, and exhausted their whole stock of petty artifices to draw the affair into length, and gain time. This course had been adopted on a much better acquaintance with the temper of the council than with that of

the people. After six weeks of inaction, Brun industriously promulgated that the lords of the council only meant to mock and delude the commonalty. This intelligence brought a multitude round the doors of the hall of council, who terrified its members with their concourse and clamor. Some declared for the burghers; others, in fear for their personal safety, precipitately fled from the city. A popular assembly was held in the church of the Franciscans, in which it was resolved to bring to account all the members of the late government, to reform the constitution, and to place provisional sovereignty in the hands of Rudolph Brun and his friends. By the new constitution, framed under their auspices, all handicraftsmen were classed under thirteen guilds, the foreman of each of which should sit in council. One moiety of this body was henceforth to be composed of burghers, the other of nobles, and the whole was to be subject to renewal every half year. Brun caused himself to be elected burgomaster for life, and contrived to retain considerable power in his hands; while a prudent reservation of the rights of the empire, and the sanction of the emperor, prevented the accession of a formidable enemy to the infant democracy.

It had already natural enemies enough. Rarely do those whom a social revolution has degraded from distinguished eminence find themselves without friends at home—without allies abroad;—and still more rarely are they capable of renouncing their hereditary pretensions with a good grace. The ancient lords of council and their adherents could not forget their former functions and dignities. They entered into a secret league with the count of Rappersweil, the barons of Bonstetten, Mazingen, and others; and the night of the 24th of February, 1350, was fixed for a general massacre of the democratic party. Some of the conspirators had re-entered the town secretly; others had acquired and abused the public confidence in their peaceable intentions, and numerous auxiliaries approached the town by land and by water. A baker's boy is said to have discovered the conspiracy at the moment of its meditated explosion; and the town was saved by Brun's skill and decision, supported by the bravery of the citizens. The loss of the conspirators was enormous; and, besides those who perished in the conflict, or by drowning in the river, thirty-seven died on the wheel or by the sword of the executioner. The Zurichers, with the aid of Schaffhausen, soon made themselves masters of Rappersweil; and, a few days before Christmas, Rudolph Brun, in contempt of his own promise, burned the town, abandoning the helpless inhabitants to the rigors of the season and to famine. But when, in the following year, duke Albert of Austria threatened severe retaliation

for these outrages, the burgomaster addressed himself to the league of the forest cantons for reinforcements and reception into their permanent confederacy. Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne, which had long regarded Zurich as their principal mart and bulwark, accepted her proposals with alacrity; and, on the Walpurgis night of the year 1351, closed with her a perpetual league of reciprocal aid against all enemies, reserving only the rights of earlier allies of the emperor and the holy Roman empire.

Albert now began to press the Zurichers more closely, and demanded satisfaction for the burning of Rappersweil,—a town which had belonged to his relative,—as well as for all other injuries done to the dependants and adherents of Austria. He advanced at the head of 16,000 men, and, moreover, called the people of Glarus to arms as his auxiliaries. On their refusal, as they alleged that they were under the immediate protection of the empire, and acknowledged no obligation to aid in the private feuds of Austria, the duke resolved to send troops into Glarus, where he himself was protector of the monastery of Seckingen, and from whence he might overawe Schwytz and Uri, and deter their population from assisting the Zurichers. This design was, however, frustrated by the confederates from the forest cantons, who achieved the occupation of Glarus by an unexpected inroad in mid-winter. The people of Glarus pledged their faith to the Schwytzers; sent 200 men to reinforce the garrison of Zurich; defeated Walter of Stadion, as he marched upon their territory, at the head of Austrian forces from Rappersweil, and captured and destroyed the castle of Naefels. Admission into the league of the confederates rewarded these achievements of their new allies.

On the side of Zug the confederates were still exposed to attack, and the connexion of their forces was interrupted. Two thousand six hundred men from Zurich and the forest cantons approached the town, and received oaths of fidelity from the neighboring districts, reserving only the rights of the duke of Austria. The town itself, which was held by a strong garrison, at first made a vigorous defence, till the burghers, becoming discouraged by the assaults of the besiegers, solicited a three day's truce. Delegates were dispatched by them to duke Albert, who described to him the straitened situation of the town; but the duke, instead of attending to them, turned to question his falconer whether his birds had been fed; and when asked whether his subjects did not concern him more than his birds, replied, "Go! if you are conquered, we shall very soon reconquer you." Resentment of such wanton disregard did not fail to produce a new disposition in those

who had been its objects; and Zug immediately joined the league of the forest cantons and Zurich, on nearly the same conditions as the latter town,—Glarus having already, on the 4th of the same month, acceded to the same eternal confederacy.

Duke Albert, instead of wasting his resources in petty hostilities against Zug and Glarus, prepared to crush the force of the confederates at one blow, by the capture and subjection of Zurich. In this enterprise he tasked the whole strength of his hereditary domains and allies. The elector of Brandenburg, with many other secular princes, five bishops, six-and-twenty counts, the towns of Berne, Soleure, Basle, Strasburg, and Schaffhausen swelled the ranks of his auxiliaries. He exhausted his domains by extraordinary imposts. The stout defence of the Zurichers, however, soon made it evident that, against a people so stedfast, united, and dauntless as the Swiss, no glory could be gained by contending; while, moreover, the dearth of provisions in the camp of duke Albert became such as threatened absolute famine. In this emergency, the elector of Brandenburg offered his mediation, and dispatched confidential messengers to treat with the Swiss. Scarcely had an answer been received from the town, when its inhabitants saw the enemy draw off from their walls; the Bernese alone retained their position. The terms of peace were arranged through the elector's intervention; and in these, as in all previous ones, the privileges and leagues of the confederates were maintained inviolate. Berne was now received among their number: her recent alliance with Austria, which was known to have been merely in compliance with existing engagements, had not destroyed the sense of common interests with her neighbors.

Such was the alliance of the eight towns and districts, which, for more than a century afterwards, received no new member into the body of their original confederacy. In this league, the three forest cantons alone, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, properly speaking, formed the old and genuine Switzerland. They alone, who had admitted all the others into their everlasting league, were in alliance with all of them;—with Lucerne, whom they had aided to emancipate herself from Austria; with Berne, whom they had voluntarily assisted in emergency; with Zurich, whose cause, when forsaken by all others, they had adopted; with Zug and Glarus, whom they had conquered only to confer on their inhabitants friendship and freedom. On the other hand, no particular bond of union existed between Glarus and Lucerne; no immediate league had been formed between Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne; the Bernese were under no obligations with regard

to Zug and Glarus. The forest cantons remained the pivot—the keystone—of the whole confederacy,—the remaining five being leagued with them, and only through *them* with each other. Their energy preserved that union, of which the only object was the maintenance of the spirit of freedom, while, in other respects, every canton retained its independence and the liberty of constituting at pleasure its own internal administration, laws, and institutions. It was only in the course of time that reciprocal engagements betwixt the other cantons were agreed to, which, in like manner, reserved to each contracting party unlimited powers in their own internal arrangements. This league continued to flourish only so long as its organization continued correspondent with the wants of the time—until its animating soul, the spirit of freedom and self-sacrifice, had departed from the frame of the confederacy—until many desired to retain freedom only for themselves, along with absolute domination over their subjects; while others could not resolve to raise their arm for the defence of their confederates in extremity, so long as they entertained the delusive hope of remaining undisturbed amidst the ruin of their brethren.

After this pacification, the duke of Austria endeavored to compel the people of Zug to renounce their connexion with the Swiss league. But they answered, that the treaty of peace had maintained that league inviolate; and that they would yield to no other claims than such as the duke could rightfully make. Albert on this laid the whole affair before the emperor, their common liege lord; and a diet at Worms condemned the Swiss league, on the alleged ground that members of the empire could not bind themselves together without the concurrence of their head. Weapons more effectual than sophistry were marshalled to support this decision. Summonses were sent to all the feudatories of Austria as well as those of the empire; and all the imperial towns were called to aid with their militia. Charles IV. himself advanced in person with a force of 4000 knights, and at least 40,000 foot and horse; and laid siege to Zurich. These mighty preparations, though directed against a garrison of barely 4000 men, were equally ineffectual as those of the duke of Austria had been in the preceding year. The Zurichers besides contrived artfully to indicate that their quarrel with Austria did not affect their allegiance to the emperor, by displaying, on a lofty tower, the ensign of the holy Roman empire—a black eagle on a golden field. They followed up this demonstration with a petition from a number of their barons, burghers, and magistrates; and these overtures, combined with the impression made by the spectacle of their steadiness and union, induced

the emperor, after a siege of only twenty days, to disband his army, and to leave the Swiss confederacy in quiet.

It being found that the confederates were not to be coerced with arms, an attempt was made to break their force by producing disunion amongst them. Brun, whose conduct was arbitrary on all occasions, subscribed, with a few other members of council, a separate treaty of peace in the name of his town; and, moreover, an alliance with Austria, which might well displease the confederates, as its provisions were more binding and extensive than those of their league; nay, in certain cases went to supersede it. The interest of their trade, which was ever uppermost with the Zurichers, may have moved them to close so sinister a compact, the evil effects of which were, however, averted by the steadiness and foresight of Schwytz. As duke Albert would not yield up his pretensions, and the emperor persisted in declaring, "that the Swiss should not, on pain of the imperial displeasure, regard Schwytz and Glarus as their allies," the confederates held a diet at Lucerne. Zurich did not appear, and remained neutral. Schwytz, however, declared that the decree should be resisted, and the event reposed in God's hands and their own. The Austrians demanded the submission of Zug and Glarus, which was refused until the duke should give his sanction to their league with the confederates. The Austrians threatened; on which the men of Schwytz raised their banner, and espoused the cause of Zug and Glarus in the name of all the confederates. Duke Albert, however, did not find it advisable to renew the war. He was old and infirm; pain and impatience had lamed his spirit for action; he no longer cherished hopes of conquest; and he therefore acquiesced in the arrangement of existing points of dispute, through the mediation of Peter, baron of Thorberg, by whom a treaty was accordingly concluded with the confederates, which was commonly known by the name of the peace of Thorberg.

Rudolph Brun, to whom the foregoing transactions owed their original impulse, was versed in all the wiles of a party leader. He knew how to attract the crowd by every art of persuasion, and while his power was small, and the issue of his plans remained doubtful, to avoid the least appearance of violence. Intrepid, when the victory depended on words—inflexible, as long as he had nothing to be afraid of—he could sometimes be courageous through the mere dread of death, and his natural timidity made him habitually vigilant. His abilities were better adapted for civic transactions than great affairs,—yet, perhaps, the only quality which he wanted as a magistrate, was the strength of mind to act with uprightness. Notwithstanding all his failings, he possessed the attachment

of many, to whom the revolution which he led brought economical or social advantages. His renown was at its highest pitch in the fourteenth year of his government, through the flourishing state of affairs, which was ascribed to his administration. But on examining his character, as it developed itself from year to year in the elevated position where he fixed himself for life, it exhibits a less favorable aspect; at the point of time especially, when, after having procured for his native town the protection of the confederacy, he ruined his own patriotic work by an unseasonable compact with Austria, not without suspicion of sordid motives in the transaction. Yet it cannot be denied that Brun's undertakings gave a firmer seat to internal freedom in Switzerland, as we shall presently see external perils combated by the energies of Reding and of Erlach.

While the burghers of Zurich employed themselves in overthrowing aristocratical sovereignty within their walls, at Berne the nobles joined their strength with that of the commons in repelling aristocratical aggression from without. The rapid growth of the town in wealth and importance, and its numerous territorial acquisitions and purchases, aroused the jealous pride of the counts and barons in its neighborhood. Berne had long been distinguished by an active and ambitious spirit, impatient of control or restraint, and which nothing but the altered state of Europe could have prevented from advancing as resistlessly to greatness as had been done under more favorable circumstances by the most renowned republics of antiquity. Constantly intent on leaving no debt unpaid, whether of hostility or friendship, they pursued progressive aggrandizement on the ruin of their enemies, or by reconciling and receiving them into the privileges of citizenship. This system created a numerous body of out-burghers, the protection of whom involved the town in everlasting feuds, which might sometimes be considered unavoidable, but were often waged from eager love of glory, or as offering an occasion of aggrandizement. Agriculture and arms engrossed the nobility; trade and the mechanical arts were exercised by the people. Public affairs came, by degrees, under the direction of a certain number of families; and though the burghers were, by law, to be consulted in all state occasions, yet the authorities dispensed with that formality on pressing emergencies; emergencies which could not fail frequently to recur amidst the enterprises of Austria, and the barons in the neighborhood, and which, by calling off the popular attention to external attacks, were apt to favor domestic usurpation.

In the hundred and twenty-seventh year after the building of Berne, the higher and inferior nobility of Aargau and Bur-

gundy combined their whole force for its destruction with the barons and counts in the Uechtland. The dukes of Austria joined this combination ; and the emperor Louis sanctioned its proceedings through his envoys. A beginning was made by petty provocations and affronts ; but more serious measures were taken after a general assembly of the nobles in the town of Freyburg. At this meeting all the injuries were enumerated, alleged to have been suffered from Berne, whose burghers, it was said, aimed at the ruin of the nobility. Hostilities were determined, and commenced against the obnoxious town ; all commerce and intercourse with it closed. Berne sought no protector, and her citizens neither exhibited trepidation nor blind ardor. The council, under the avoyer, John of Bubenberg, resolved, that satisfaction should be given to all equitable demands, but that force should be repelled with force ; and as all negotiation with the nobles was fruitless, an appeal to arms remained the only alternative. Laupen, a small town in the Bernese territory, was already threatened by the combined force of the emperor and the nobles, consisting of 15,000 foot and 3000 horse, led by 1200 knights, in complete armor,* and 700 barons, with crowned helmets. The victory or overthrow of Berne was now to decide the freedom or servitude of the whole of western Switzerland. The peasantry who fled into the town for refuge brought frightful accounts of the near approach, the overwhelming forces, and the merciless dispositions of the enemy. They were minded to leave not a human creature alive in Berne, but to put whatever had life in it to the sword without pity. Each of the hostile leaders had already selected a mansion in the town, of which, after their assured success, they meant to take possession. Meanwhile the nobles gave themselves up to an arrogant security ; while the burghers, on the other hand, put forth their whole defensive strength, and determined rather to bury themselves in the ruins of their town than to ask or accept mercy from the insolent invaders. As the first aim of the enemy was directed against Laupen, where only a small garrison was posted, under the knight of Blankenburg, they swore by God and all the saints to sacrifice life and goods in the defence of the place, and issued a decree, that "if any father had two sons, or if in any house there were two brothers, one of each should march to the relief of Laupen." Six hundred men marched accordingly, under the younger Bubenberg.

The Bernese, having thus provided for the first instant emergency, proceeded at more leisure to levy the force of their out-burghers, elect a general, and solicit the support of the con-

* *Ferreis muris armati.*

federates. Though the term of their original league with the forest cantons had expired, these brave allies were foremost in advancing to their succor. Nine hundred able warriors marched across the Brünig to Berne; and the whole force of the town advanced upon Laupen on the 20th of June, 1339, under the command of Rudolph of Erlach. Erlach drew up his troops in good order, assigning to the allies, and first of all to the forest cantons, the post of honor against the enemy's cavalry. He himself, at the head of the troops of Berne, prepared to attack their infantry, and gave the signal for the engagement, by exclaiming, "Where be now those gallant youths who were wont to bid defiance to the enemy in their revels at Berne, adorned with flowers and feathers? The honor of your town is now in your hands.—Follow her banner! Follow Erlach!" On this the youths of Berne rushed round the banner; the slingers advanced; and having discharged three volleys with considerable execution, fell back into their former position. This retrograde movement was taken for a flight in the rear of the army, which was occupied by young inexperienced combatants, who wheeled about, and fled into the neighboring wood. Their flight occasioned wavering and disorder in the main body. At this critical moment Erlach showed the soul of a great leader, whose presence of mind is not to be shaken by the most untoward accidents. He cried to the troops, with an air of cheerful confidence, "My friends, we shall now conquer, for the chaff is threshed from the corn!" Then, waving his sword, he gave the command for a charge. The nature of the ground had not allowed the enemy's infantry to extend its lines sufficiently; and the want of subordination and of union which prevailed amongst an army under so many rival chiefs, rendered it utterly unable to maintain its ground against the compact mass of the confederates. After a short and feeble resistance, the infantry threw away their arms, and took to flight in utter disorder. The forest cantons, the men of Soleure, of Hasli, and of Siebenthal, were still engaged in doubtful strife with the cavalry. Already they were on the verge of utter defeat, and had only maintained their ground through the obstinate stand made by the forest cantons; when the men of Berne attacked the enemy at once in flank and in rear, and the victory was now complete on all points. The field was strewn with the bodies, arms, and horses of the nobility. So total was their overthrow, that the baron of Blumenberg no sooner heard the numbers and the names of the fallen, than exclaiming, "God forbid I should survive such men!" he spurred his horse upon the ranks of the forest cantons, and found what he sought, an honorable death. Seven-and-twenty banners of the imperial towns and nobles fell into the hands

of the victors, who, after a short pursuit of the fugitives, reassembled on the field of battle, fell down on their knees, and returned thanks to Him who had given them the victory over their enemies. The garrison at Laupen heartily sympathized with the joy of their victorious brethren; and Erlach paid his tribute of acknowledgment to the valor and the discipline of his army. He then gave orders to remain on the field during the night, according to the usage, partly to prove on whose side was the victory, and partly to take care of the wounded. Early on the following morning, the conquerors marched homewards. A priest, with the holy sacrament, led the procession; next in order went the conquered banners, arms, and accoutrements; and the procession was closed by the march of the conquering army. In this manner they reached Berne, and entered the city amidst exulting shouts of welcome from the people. Erlach, having saved his country, laid down the authority with which in the hour of need he had been invested. Berne renewed her league with the forest cantons, and gave them practical tokens of her gratitude. The celebration of a solemn divine service was ordained on every future anniversary of the day of Laupen, that pious remembrance and ardent emulation of its glories might be preserved through all succeeding generations.

The triumphs of Swiss valor were soon saddened by the breaking out of that great plague, which visited with its ravages the greater part of Europe and Asia, and of which the most vivid delineation ever written (except that of a similar pest by Thucydides) has been preserved in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Whole towns were depopulated. Estates were left without claimants or occupiers. Priests, physicians, grave-diggers, could not be found in adequate numbers; and the consecrated earth of the churchyards no longer sufficed for the reception of its destined tenants. In the order of Franciscans alone 120,430 monks are said to have perished. This plague had been preceded by tremendous earthquakes, which laid in ruins towns, castles, and villages. Dearth and famine, clouds of locusts, and even an innocent comet, had been long before regarded as forerunners of the pestilence; and when it came, it was viewed as an unequivocal sign of the wrath of God. At the outset, the Jews became, as usual, objects of umbrage, as having occasioned this calamity by poisoning the wells. A persecution was commenced against them, and numberless innocent persons were consigned, by heated fanaticism, to a dreadful death by fire; and their children were baptized over the corpses of their parents, according to the religion of their murderers. These atrocities were in all probability perpetrated by many, in order to possess themselves

of the wealth acquired by the Jews in traffic, to take revenge for their usurious extortions, or, finally, to pay their debts in the most expeditious and easy manner. When it was found that the plague was nowise diminished by massacring the Jews, but, on the contrary, seemed to acquire additional virulence, it was inferred that God, in his righteous wrath, intended nothing less than to extirpate the whole sinful race of man. Many now endeavored by self-chastisement to avert the divine vengeance from themselves. Fraternities of hundreds and thousands collected under the name of Flagellants, strolled through the land in strange garbs, scourged themselves in the public streets, in penance for the sins of the world, and read a letter which was said to have fallen from heaven, admonishing all to repentance and amendment. They were joined, of course, by a crowd of idle vagabonds, who, under the mask of extraordinary sanctity and humble penitence, indulged in every species of disorder and debauchery. At last the affair assumed so grave an aspect, that the pope and many secular princes declared themselves against the Flagellants, and speedily put an end to their extravagances. Various ways were still, however, resorted to by various tempers to snatch the full enjoyment of that life which they were so soon to lose, at the expense of every possible violation of the laws of morality. Only a few lived on in a quiet and orderly manner, in reliance on the saving help of God, without running into any excess of anxiety or indulgence. After this desolating scourge had raged during four years, its violence seemed at length to be exhausted.

Rudolph of Erlach, the hero of Laupen, had on the close of the war withdrawn himself from the stage of public life, and lived to an advanced age on his property near Berne. There he remained in his castle, honored by all, in modest retirement: his children were at a distance from him; and while men and maids were busied in husbandry, the old man often was left under the sole protection of his hounds. The sword which he had worn in his country's battles hung on the wall. In this solitude he was visited one day by his son-in-law, Jost von Rudenz, who had on many occasions excited Erlach's displeasure. A bitter altercation is supposed to have taken place between them; and Rudenz, in an excess of rage, snatched the sword from the wall, struck down the old hero, and escaped. When intelligence of the murder reached Berne, the whole population, horse and foot, sallied forth to seize the murderer; who, however, was not taken, and is supposed to have shortly afterwards met his death in some unknown manner. Thus fell Erlach.

Even in peace Berne pursued with great success her plans of aggrandizement by feuds, or by acquiring castellan jurisdictions, and also made many purchases of territory at this time, by which the town became so much involved in debt, that nothing but the spirited exertions of the burghers could have cleared away its numerous embarrassments. While such was the external progress of Berne, the internal tranquillity of the town became disturbed by the strife between the higher ranks of nobility and the lesser nobles, as well as the respectable burghers. These dissensions were, however, composed with much discretion, moderation, and equity; a few suspicious characters were removed from the council, and future encroachments on the part of the authorities were provided against by judicious regulations.

Zurich, under the wise and moderate government of Roger Manesse, who, on the death of Brun, succeeded to the dignity of burgomaster, sought a remedy in diligence and industry for the serious wounds which severe and protracted warfare had inflicted on the morals and the wealth of its population; whose numbers had, moreover, been diminished by one eighth. The first aim of the government of Zurich was to ameliorate its impoverished condition; the second, to set limits, by strong sumptuary laws, to the decay of moral discipline, and to new modes of extravagance; the third, to secure the freedom of the burghers by wise amendments in a defective constitution, which had bestowed upon the burgomaster more extensive powers than should be given in a free state to any one. Thus, in four-and-twenty years of almost uninterrupted peace, Zurich gradually rose to even more than her former prosperity. Berne could certainly boast of greater power than Zurich, of more illustrious rulers, of a more high-minded and warlike people. Zurich, on the other hand, pursued with greater energy the arts and undertakings of peace; and while Berne advanced with rapid strides to the rank of a powerful commonwealth, bore away the palm of civilization and improvement.

Lucerne, torn by perpetual party contests, and externally exposed to the power of Austria, remained far behind Berne and Zurich.

Zug and Glarus were quiet and contented, as it was no longer in the power of Austria to invade their rights and liberties.

The forest cantons felt but little concern about the outward world, and followed the still tenor of their pastoral life; but they were not the less endowed with a free spirit, and prepared at any moment to fight for their freedom, friends, and country. While the confederacy thus enjoyed its liberties, the

towns of St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Basle, Soleure, Sion, and Lausanne, struggled eagerly to attain the like advantages.

The forest cantons, along with Zurich, Lucerne, and Zug, adopted, in 1370, a set of regulations very remarkable for those times, which were known under the title of the *Pfaffenbrief*, the object of which was to hinder the abuse of clerical influence, to abolish the impunity enjoyed by ecclesiastics, even in cases of enormous criminality, to narrow the operation of their intrigues and their vindictiveness, and to render them amenable to the native laws and tribunals. The pecuniary wants of princes and nobles prompted bolder and bolder measures against the clergy; the towns taxed them; the peasantry refused to pay any longer many services of vassalage imposed by their authority; and the church vassals themselves, especially in the district of Appenzell, hardly maintained the semblance of obedience to their mandates.

The power of the nobility declined with that of the clergy, as the great barons set themselves to vie with the magnificence of the princes of Austria, Savoy, and Milan: thus preparing their own ruin by the abandonment of their primitive manners, as well as by the consumption of their patrimonial wealth. The noble houses of Montfort, Neufchâtel, Kyburg, and a few others, maintained themselves with difficulty between the rising Swiss republic and the growing powers of Austria and Savoy.

During the peace with Austria, the confederacy had to repel two other assaults of hostile power. No prince or town was at that time sufficiently rich to support standing armies; or if there were any whose wealth might have enabled them to do so, they would hardly have dared to combat the repugnance of their people, who justly regarded standing troops as an instrument for their subjection. In case of war, the nobles with their squires followed for a certain time their prince's banner on horseback, while the common people served on foot; belligerent towns, on the other hand, called out their burghers and out-burghers. This mode of conducting war had obvious disadvantages. As the vassals of princes were only obliged to a limited term of service, a large army not unfrequently disbanded just at the moment when the best success might have been expected; and as the nobles and people felt the constant recurrence of warfare more and more burdensome, it often happened that military service was refused. Other disadvantages, moreover, were inseparable from these imperfect military arrangements, which often crippled the conduct of the best planned undertakings. And if the towns had not exactly the same impediments to struggle with, as were often opposed to princes by the turbulence of their vassals, they had others per-

haps equally embarrassing. The wealth acquired in trade introduced effemipacy, decay of martial spirit, and dread of death; and gave rise to the wish to free themselves by any means from a personal share in warlike expeditions. To liberate towns and princes from these difficulties, bold and enterprising men soon offered their services: these men, who, for the most part, were poor nobles, or burghers and peasants anxious to distinguish themselves by deeds of valor, levied on their own account large troops of rapacious rabble, often to the number of many thousands. Thus escorted, they roamed about, maintaining themselves and their armies at the cost of the unfortunate lands which lay in their line of march; and offering their mercenary services, for one or more campaigns, to towns and princes. When dismissed by one employer, if they did not immediately find another they betook themselves to predatory excursions on their own score. Not a few of these leaders were murdered by their own band; many met a disgraceful death on the scaffold; but, on the other hand, some won for themselves domains and principalities. Their formation was the first trace and original germ of standing armies; and has considerable resemblance to the manner in which partisan corps are formed in modern warfare. As the invention of this mode of making war belonged to Italy, the leaders of these troops received the Italian name of *condottieri*. One of these mercenary captains, Arnold of Cervola, a man of acknowledged courage but indifferent reputation, had fought in the pay of France against England: after the close of that war, he marched through several districts at the head of twenty, thirty, or even forty thousand men; and, spreading devastation around him, advanced upon the town of Basle. On other occasions he avoided attacking fortified towns with his ill-disciplined troops, who were totally devoid of all preparation, practice, and appetite for services which required patience and order: but Basle had only just been rebuilt after a wasting earthquake: its trenches were in many places still choked with rubbish, which gave unusual facilities for storming. At this moment of terror, Basle begged for aid from the confederates; and in a few days Berne and Soleure, which were leagued with that town, sent 1500 men to its assistance. As soon as they were received in the suburbs, the leader of Berne addressed them:—"Having been sent to venture all for you, faithful and true friends and colleagues, post us where the danger will be greatest." A day later, 3000 picked troops arrived from the other cantons to defend Basle, as a bulwark of the confederacy, although they had then no direct league with it. Cervola, who had heard of Swiss valor and Swiss poverty, found it advisable to turn his march northwards without an at-

tempt on Basle: in the following year (1366) he was dispatched by his own followers, in Provence.

Ten years after the menaced inroad of Cervola, Ingram or Ingelram de Coucy, count of Soissons and earl of Bedford (titles both conferred on him by Edward III. of England, whose daughter Isabella he had received in marriage), proclaimed a feud against Austria, that power having refused to pay the marriage portion of his mother Catharina, daughter of the late duke Leopold, slain at Morgarten, on pretence that the towns and lands assigned for its payment had fallen for the most part into the hands of the confederates. In Coucy's army were many English in splendid armor, with gilt helmets, or high-crowned iron caps (Germanicè, *gugel*-hats, or capuches), whom the cessation of the war between France and England had reduced to an unwelcome state of inaction, and who willingly joined the standard raised by a son-in-law of their monarch. Besides these excellent warriors, from whom the bands of Coucy were sometimes called the *Englanders*, and sometimes, on account of their strangely fashioned hats, the *Guglers*, Coucy picked up numerous recruits in France and the Netherlands, and was also reinforced by the remains of Cervola's army. With these bands, which carried terror before them, spread devastation around, and left misery behind them, he began his expedition against Austria. Leopold now applied for the assistance of the confederates, which was afforded with alacrity on the part of Berne and Zurich, as the open country of these cantons was equally exposed to attack. But the forest cantons declared that they would not sacrifice their people in order to protect the lands of a hostile power from invasion; they would, therefore, view the course of the war merely as spectators; and if the enemy should reach their borders, they hoped, by God's assistance, and by the vigor of their own right arms, to be able to defend themselves. They adhered to this determination, although they would have done better to take up arms in defence of the Aargau, not on the duke's account, but because it was an avant-mure of Zurich and Berne. On the approach of Coucy's force, an unaccountable panic seems to have taken possession of the Austrians and their Swiss allies: the invaders plundered and laid under contribution the whole country from the Jura to the gates of Berne and frontiers of Zurich. As the produce of these tracts hardly sufficed to feed their own inhabitants, such dearth and desolation ensued, that many not insignificant towns could with difficulty defend themselves from the wolves. Coucy's army itself suffered dreadfully; and the oppressions which it was forced, for self-preservation, to heap on the land, brought the people at last to despair and to resistance. Three thousand English war-

riors were defeated near Buttisholz, by a few hundred inhabitants of Entlibuch (a district among the mountains that decline from the higher Alps towards the Aargau), assisted, however, by straggling bands from Lucerne and Unterwalden. As the conquering men of Entlibuch were riding home on English horses, exultingly displaying the arms and ornaments of the vanquished, the baron Peter of Dorrenberg, as they passed his castle, cried out,—“O noble blood, alas! that peasants should wear your decorations.”—“That hath come to pass,” replied an Entlibucher, “because we have this day mingled noble blood with blood of horses.” A mound, called the English barrow, near the wood of Buttisholz, still remains as a monument of the action.

Count Rudolph of Kyburg, one of the few remaining powerful nobles, expiated a treacherous attempt to surprise the town of Solenne, over which he claimed some jurisdiction, by the loss of a great part of his hereditary domains; as the citizens of the town in question took their revenge with the aid of Berne, by inroads on his lands and those of his friends. Berne, with her accustomed policy, took the opportunity of appropriating Thun as well as the bailliage of Griessenberg.

Though the recent peace still remained unbroken, many secret causes of discord were in active operation, which could not fail to produce a new and sanguinary contest. The support which the count of Kyburg had received from the Austrian territories had awakened the distrust of the confederates, while the ruin of that ancient house, and the growth of the power of Berne, had exasperated the ill-will of the nobles towards the confederacy. Duke Leopold III. of Austria, who resembled in pride as well as in courage that Leopold who had fought with the confederates at Morgarten, brought bitter complaints against the confederates for receiving into their league, in defiance of treaties, Entlibuch, Sempach, Meyenberg, Reichensee, and other places, on which he had claims, as either subject or mortgaged to him: he charged Lucerne with breaking into his castle of Rothenburg in time of peace, and Zurich (whether with or without foundation we are only enabled by history to conjecture) with having planned a similar inroad upon Rappersweil. On the other hand, besides the share which Leopold had, contrary to his solemn engagements, taken in the count of Kyburg's quarrel with the confederates, he had violated several points in the late pacification, and had done injury to the trade of the confederates, by the erection of a bridge at Rappersweil, as well as by the exaction of new tolls and dues at that place and at Rothenburg. And if Leopold had hitherto taken no further steps against the confederates, his forbearance was not so much attributed to love of

peace, or regard to the faith of treaties, as to the obstacles which were laid in his way by circumstances. As soon as these were overcome, he marched into the Aargau, and swore a solemn oath, by God's assistance, to dis sever "that insulting league of the Swiss, the source of so much unrighteous warfare."

The hatred of the nobles now broke forth against the free burghers, so that messages of defiance reached the confederacy from 167 lords temporal and spiritual, which, in order to enhance their stunning effect, were delivered in twenty messages successively. At this crisis Berne declined taking the part in the common danger which seemed enjoined by gratitude for the aid of her confederates at Laupen, on pretence of an eleven years' truce with Leopold; of which, however, the term was to expire in a few months. The other cantons reinforced the Zurichers, against whom the first attack was apprehended, with 1600 men, and ravaged in conjunction with them the neighboring lands of Austria; but on the news of a threatened inroad on Lucerne, the force destined to garrison that town was detached thither, while the Zurichers protected their own walls against the division of the ducal force by which they were menaced. Meanwhile the duke marched rapidly towards the interior of the country, at the head of a body of picked troops; and on the 9th of July, 1386, met the Swiss advancing from Zurich in the neighborhood of Sempach.

Arrogance and scornful menace heralded the march of an enemy confident of a sure and easy victory. Cords, as on a former occasion, were prepared to hang the expected captives. A certain baron of Hasenburg, who suggested prudent caution, received the punning nickname, *heart of hare* (Hasenherz); and, in order to owe the honor of victory solely to themselves, the heavy-armed nobility dismounted from their horses, cut the long peaks then in fashion from their shoes, and formed an extended line of battle, seemingly impenetrable, through the formidable length and close array of the presented spears. The Swiss had nothing but boards attached to their left arms by way of bucklers, but charged manfully notwithstanding their rude accoutrements, in reliance on their God, and in the cause of their country. Their leaders fought in front of the battle, and many of them soon fell before the levelled spears of the enemy. It was then that Arnold of Winkelried, a knight of Unterwalden (for the chivalry was not all on one side), resolved by his heroic death to render an imperishable service to his father-land. Exclaiming, "I will make way for you, confederates—provide for my wife and children—honor my race!"—he rushed upon the spears, and grasping several with his arms, he bore them to the ground with the weight of his

body, over which the confederates forced their way through the broken ranks of the enemy, who were unable to manœuvre from the closeness of their array, and half smothered under the sultry summer's sun in their ponderous armor. The high-souled Leopold fell beside the sinking banner of Austria, resolved to share the fate of those true followers who had sacrificed themselves in his cause. More than 600 of the higher and lower nobility were left on the field, with about 2000 of their less distinguished adherents. The slaughter would have been greater had not the Swiss yielded too eagerly to the appetite for plunder. Fifteen banners fell into the hands of the victors, who lost about 200 men; but amongst these some of their bravest. The avoyer Gundoldingen, a man in high esteem among his countrymen, and deeply imbued with the spirit of a republican government, died repeating the words, "Tell the men of Lucerne to retain no avoyer longer than a single year in office."

Leopold IV., surnamed the Proud, continued during several months longer the war commenced by his father against the confederates. He enjoyed the aid of a numerous and powerful body of nobles, eager to revenge their friends and relatives slain at Sempach, or to vindicate the honor of their order. Yet this feud, in which Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne took principal parts, resembled a mere predatory excursion more than any thing else. Berne seized the opportunity to aggrandize herself, and gained a firm footing in the Oberland. Lucerne destroyed several strong fortresses. Zurich did the same, and distinguished herself by valiant deeds of arms in the Wehnthal. But the conquest of the Austrian town of Wesen, in the Gaster, by the seven old cantons, alone deserves notice here, not so much on account of the importance of the acquisition as of its consequences. Since neither fame nor profit accrued from these events to the house of Austria, and the confederates themselves were tired of this desultory warfare, a year and a half's truce was easily mediated by several imperial towns. This was called the *Bad Peace*, on account of the numerous acts of ill faith which were exercised on both sides while it continued, and because its whole duration was employed not in pacific transactions, but in warlike preparations. At that time the minds of the confederates were penetrated with such hatred against Austria, that they could not hear the name of that house without exasperation. Whoever spoke well of Austria was regarded as an enemy,—whoever should have adorned his hat with peacocks' feathers, the ducal ensign, would have lost his life by the fury of the people. It is recorded that no peacock was permitted in all Switzerland; and *Peacock's Tail* became the most offensive of all nicknames.

The national antipathy rose to such a height at this time, that many writers, not without ground, refer to this epoch the definitive separation of the Swiss confederation from the German empire.

Towards the close of the truce, the Swiss garrison in the conquered town of Wesen were surprised by a treacherous junction of the burghers with the Austrians; and the vogt, with all who could not escape over the walls, were murdered. The confederates advanced from the lake of Zurich, but did not attempt to penetrate through the strong body of Austrian troops collected in the neighborhood; and the men of Glarus were left to themselves for the space of nearly two months, while the mountain-passes were blocked up with snow. Nevertheless, they rejected the conditions proposed by the enemy, which amounted, indeed, to nearly entire subjection. Unexpectedly, on the 9th of April, 1388, a hostile army, several thousand strong, made its appearance from the neighboring lands of the Aargau, Thurgau, and the remote Swabian territories, and attacked the fortress of Naefels. A handful of 200 men, commanded by Matthew of Bühlen, though reinforced by 300 others who came up from the neighborhood, were not strong enough to maintain an unfinished line of fortifications extending across a valley from one hill to another. Their intrenchments were forced after a stout resistance. While the enemy, confiding in their far superior numbers, and despising the insignificant bands of Glarus, dispersed in every direction in quest of plunder, Bühlen collected his handful of men on the mountain ridges near Ruti. Even in an open country, resolute men are capable of great things; and little bands of warriors cut their way from all quarters to their country's banner floating from the height. The men of Glarus, reinforced by a few Schwytzers and other chance auxiliaries from the valleys in their rear, by a succession of spirited charges, brought the enemy first to wavering and confusion, and at last to a disorderly flight. The bridge at Wesen gave way beneath the pressure of the fugitives. Above 3000 common men and 183 knights fell on the field, or found their death in the lake and in the river. The entreaties and magnificent offers made by the sorrowing relatives for leave to build a convent on the field of battle were rejected by the community of Glarus, who justly feared that such a foundation might, in course of time, find means to appropriate the best lands, acquire a dangerous influence, and encourage that of foreigners. The same community ordained that, on each succeeding April, the principal able-bodied member of each family in the district should go in procession to Naefels, passing every spot and stile which had witnessed the achievements of their forefathers.

Then and there should be read before the assembled people the history of the day of Sempach, the events in the Gaster, and, finally of the victory of Naefels. After the celebration of mass for the souls of their brave ancestors, and due commemoration of their constancy in the cause of freedom, the people were allowed to relax in moderate festivity.

After incessant hostilities waged for more than thirteen months, some imperial towns succeeded in effecting a truce, or peace, as it was called, for seven years, in which the Bernese acquiesced with reluctance. In this peace, the confederates retained their actual conquests. Zurich, Uri, and Unterwalden, however, acquired nothing. The event of the war, and the terms of peace, shook to their foundations the financial resources of Austria, as well as its power and influence on the popular-mind in Switzerland. The attempt was therefore renewed to sow disunion among the confederates, and subdue those spirits by fraud which had only been roused by open violence. Duke Leopold gained over to his interests the burgo-master Rudolf Schön, and the majority of the council at Zurich. Without the knowledge of the great council, and in spite of the remonstrances of the rest of the confederates, who watched their proceedings with attention, they closed with Austria a still more binding alliance than that of Brun had been. Zurich therein exempted herself from guarantying the recent conquests of the confederates, &c. The envoys of the latter had recourse to measures justifiable only by the peculiar relations and danger of the confederacy. They employed their personal influence in the streets and public places on the members of the great council and congregated burghers. The ascendancy of the government rapidly fell, as it had only been based upon arts of intrigue and coercion. Its members were displaced, and, in part, banished; the Austrian league dissolved, and changes made in the constitution, in consequence of which, the former rulers were superseded by firm friends of the confederacy.

Convinced of the necessity of adopting regulations conducive to internal strength and harmony, the confederates concluded as a body that state compact which received the name of the Sempach declaration, which was intended to prevent the recurrence of the disorders which had marked the late war, and which prohibited self-revenge among the confederates, provided for the safety of commerce and intercourse, the maintenance of discipline, and the prevention of unnecessary violence and plunder among the soldiery. The seven years' peace with Austria was prolonged, in 1394, for twenty, and in 1412, for fifty years. While the influence of that power sunk in Switzerland; while one ancient, proud, and

powerful house was extinguished after another, two new confederations became organized in the east. Rætia was the one,—the other was Appenzell.

Inclosed by rugged chains of the higher Alps, and possessing a climate rapid in its vicissitudes, from eternal ice to almost Spanish sultriness, Rætia presented, in the times of which we are treating, a strange mixture of free communities with the bondsmen of the church and the nobles. Already had a century elapsed since the confederates had achieved their freedom, when the Rætians, for the first time, manned themselves to struggle for that glorious object. They formed alliances, partly among themselves, and partly with the neighboring confederates; but their struggles were as yet too undecided, their internal relations too confused and unregulated, to deserve farther notice for the present.

With more decision, and therefore with more effect, the district of Appenzell entered on the struggle for independence. It consisted of some half-dozen nameless hamlets, at the northern end of the ancient Rætian territory, where an insulated group of mountains, like a sort of natural fortress, rises high above the circumjacent country. The snow-crowned head of the Sentis seems to tower supreme over wide tracts, from the Tyrol, over the distant Swabian plains, as far as Wirtemberg. Arrogance, combined with oppression and tyranny, first aroused in the inhabitants of this obscure region a force which had been hitherto unknown to themselves, but which extended its workings over a wide circle, until arrogance and imprudence on their own part again limited its results within a narrower field. Cuno, of Staufen, was invested, in 1379, with the dignity of abbot in the monastery of St. Gall, which for a considerable time back had appropriated the imperial and all other dues throughout the four districts around it. Cuno held the wisdom of a ruler to be best shown by extension of his rule; his servants also delighted in surpassing their lord's excesses, and in barbing his oppressions with insult. Cuno refused to confirm the prescriptive franchises of the peasantry, or to gratify their wish to have their officers selected from the natives of their own district; augmented the dues and imposts to which they were liable, and exercised his feudal rights with the most tyrannical rigor. At length, the four districts under his government combined for common resistance; but the ferment was for once appeased through the good offices of impartial towns and nobles in the neighborhood. These conciliatory labors were however rendered useless by attempts on the part of the abbot and his officers to avenge themselves on the abettors of the recent discontents. Rigors made still farther rigors necessary; and in January, 1401, the four districts leagued

themselves with the town of St. Gall, which had been irritated already by the abbot. They expelled that prince's officers, and threw up their allegiance. Constance, and five other imperial towns, which had shortly before allied themselves with the prince-abbot, as well as with the town of St. Gall, again succeeded in dissolving the league of the citizens with the mountaineers. When the commons of Appenzell found that force was about to be employed against them, they unanimously swore to a firm union. They now sought an alliance with the Swiss confederacy; but Schwytz alone answered their advances. The abbot now allied himself more closely with the Swabian towns, and, through their mediation, with St. Gall, where the princely name and influence still worked powerfully on the leading men, and attempted to coerce the combined mountaineers by force of arms.

But the latter had received reinforcements from the ever-ready Schwytzers, and had moreover been joined by volunteers from Glarus, though that canton was precluded, by its league with the confederates, from entering into open alliance with Appenzell. On the 15th May, 1403, the well-appointed enemy, 5000 strong, while attempting to penetrate towards Speicher, received, in the hollow road before Vögeliseck, a signal overthrow from 1800 ill-armed shepherds of Appenzell, backed by a handful of men from Schwytz and from Glarus. Few of the conquerors lost their lives, while 400 of their enemies perished; and the town of St. Gall atoned for its courtly subservience by the loss of its leaders and many of its citizens. Nevertheless, the men of St. Gall and Appenzell renewed their league in 1404, unrestrained by any resentment of their losses on the part of the former. Abbot and monks made their escape to Weil, while the Appenzellers, ever advancing in boldness, received lands and villages into their league, without regard to existing rights, and maintained the cause of the vassals of the nobles against their lords, who regarded them from thenceforth as their enemies. This rendered it easy for the abbot to stir up the nobles of the Thurgau and others to participate in the war against these disturbers of the peace; and he was thus occasioned also to court the assistance of duke Frederick, although hitherto the holders of the abbacy had always cherished distrust against his house. Scarcely had the duke resolved to aid the prince-abbot, when the deeply outraged count Rudolph of Werdenberg, whom the rapacity of Austria had robbed of his paternal estates, presented himself as a comrade to the Appenzellers. In order to silence any thing like distrust, he submitted himself to voluntary hardships, which an ordinary knight's page of those times would have thought unendurable. He went clothed like themselves,

often with bare feet, and fought in their ranks; but his courage, as well as counsel and experience, soon placed him amongst the number of their leaders.

On a rainy day of June, 1405, the main body of duke Frederick's forces advanced to the borders of Appenzell, through the Rheinthal, and began to ascend the Stoss; where the short turf of the meadows, slippery from the rain which had fallen, afforded no sure footing for the heavy-armed troops. Four hundred men of Appenzell, with some from Glarus and Schwytz, rolled fragments of rock and beams of wood down on the enemy, who had hardly advanced midway up the hill, when Rudolph of Werdenberg gave the signal for onset. Then rushed the men of Appenzell with loud shouts on the already broken lines of the Austrians; and the slippery soil favored their barefooted bands as much as it embarrassed those of the enemy. The rain had, besides, rendered the cross-bows of the latter unserviceable. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the Austrians fought desperately, till a new array of combatants appeared on the heights in the rear, who seemed designed to cut off their retreat. The sight of a new enemy entirely broke their courage, and they fled down hill precipitately, pursued by the men of Appenzell; whose *wives* and *daughters*, in shepherds' smocks, composed the dreaded reserve, of which a distant apparition had inspired too great a panic to wait for the correction of a nearer view.

Duke Frederick, in the mean time, had advanced from another quarter, and carried his ravages, at the head of his glittering chivalry, up to the very gates of St. Gall. Finding the place too strong for his means of attack, he fell back again upon Arbon, when his disorderly line of march was assailed by the burghers of St. Gall, divided into several small detachments, from which considerable loss was sustained by the ducal force at Hauptlisberg. The duke was sorely stung by this disgraceful reverse; but still more so by the news of the disastrous rout at the Stoss. He had now recourse to artifice for revenge; and giving out that he designed to retreat from Arbon to the Tyrol, he drew his forces off towards the Rhine; but, on arriving at the village of Thal, he wheeled his troops suddenly round, and led them up the Wolfshald, towards Appenzell. He hoped to take the pastoral population by surprise; but his intention was already known at Appenzell. Four hundred men rushed down on the disorderly troops of Austria, who were toiling upwards without the least apprehension or precaution. They had time, however, to take a strong position in a churchyard, and the battle was fought obstinately on both sides. At length, the Austrian lines were again broken, and the ducal army driven down the Wolfshald with enormous

slaughter. The duke was by this time really sick of the contest, and retreated to the Tyrol in good earnest.

The hitherto unheard name of Appenzell was now spread far and wide by renown. Even during the winter months they besieged the castle of Bregenz, which had often annoyed the neighboring inhabitants. But they were blinded by the self-reliance grounded on good fortune, so far to utter open threats against the Swabian nobles, and thus raise up new allies to their enemy. A combination was formed against them, called the St. George's Shield, or League; and their scattered bands, enfeebled by the rigors of winter, were attacked on the 13th of January, 1408, at break of day, by a body of above 8000 well-armed warriors. They rallied their force as well as they were able; but notwithstanding the determined stand which they made, in which their captain fell, they were at length compelled to retreat, with the loss of many prisoners, and of all their preparations for a siege. But so imposing was the memory of their tried and proved valor, that their most embittered enemies could not stimulate the conquerors, however superior in number, to molest their retreat.

The Appenzellers themselves were disposed to terms of peace by this disaster, and made a compromise with the nobles and the abbot, by which the latter was finally compelled to acknowledge their independence; and duke Frederick of Austria having recovered his possessions, the cause of warfare ceased in that quarter. They confined themselves thenceforwards to the defence of their own freedom, which they sought to secure by alliances with powerful lords in their neighborhood; but still more by procuring themselves reception from the confederacy: not, indeed, into the rank of a separate canton, but into the number of their citizens and countrymen. The conditions on which this privilege was granted them were directed to secure the confederates from entanglement in unnecessary warfare, through the ardor and irritability of the Appenzellers. To this end the latter were obliged to promise never to take up arms without the consent of the confederates; to give them aid in all future wars with their whole force; while, in wars undertaken on their own account, they contented themselves with such aid only as the confederates might choose to afford, and for which Appenzell was besides to pay. Moreover, the confederates reserved the right of adding to, or taking from, the articles of the treaty at their discretion.

The confederates could look without alarm to the approaching close of the 'Twenty Years' Peace, for their freedom and repose were firmly established, while the former predominance of Austria existed now no longer in Switzerland. Confusion and distress prevailed on all sides,—in Germany, in

France, in Spain, in Italy, and, most of all, in the ecclesiastical state. The confederacy alone enjoyed order and repose. The wars of princes at that time were carried on with unwieldy heavy cavalry, and their infantry was wretched. But the Swiss understood the art of war better. Compelled to fight on foot by their poverty, as well as by the nature of the country, and opposed for the most part to superior numbers, they were forced to watch attentively every advantage, to trust to a resolute onset and immovable steadiness, and to baffle by their quickness of manœuvre the unwieldy numerical force of their antagonists. Thus the confederacy stood prepared for all events when the peace of twenty years came to a close. Duke Frederick of Austria wished to prolong it; and in order to obtain this end he was obliged, besides conceding other points to the confederates, to confirm for fifty years their possession of all the conquests actually held by themselves or their allies of Soleure and Appenzell. Thus, a century after the Austrian pride and arrogance had commenced the war against the freedom of Switzerland, the latter had come so triumphantly out of the conflict, that duke Frederick was glad to conclude a treaty with them on any terms.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE TO THE BATTLE OF ARBEDO.

1414—1422.

State of the Confederation.—Of the Church.—Great Schism.—Council of Constance.—Flight of Pope John.—Outlawry of Frederick Duke of Austria.—Conquests of the Confederates.—Erection of free Bailiwicks.—Capture and Deposition of Pope John.—Dissolution of the Council of Constance.—Francesco Poggio.—Gipsies.—The Mazze.—Feud of Uri and Unterwalden with Philip Visconti Duke of Milan.—March of the Swiss on Bellinzona.—Battle of Arbedo.

THE history of the Swiss has been traced in the foregoing pages since the loss of their original savage freedom: we have seen them in the power of foreign nations; we have hailed the reappearance of their native spirit, the vigor and good fortune which accompanied their struggles with their powerful antagonists. But precisely this good fortune induced gradual deviations from the noble maxim on which their league was founded, that of making friends instead of acquiring subjects. This deviation had already become perceptible in the towns which we have seen acquiring new domains by conquest or purchase; it has already been remarked in Schwytz and Uri; and the recital of the following transactions will present it in a still clearer light, and will also display its natural effects in

the perilous out-breakings of intestine feud and civil discord. The aggrandizement of particular cantons excited the envy of others, which was inflamed to the highest degree by the sustained and sedulous efforts which the former made to preserve and to increase their acquisitions. As at this time the body of confederates had no reason to fear attacks from any of their neighbors, the feeling of reciprocal obligation died away by degrees among themselves. The previous bonds of union became relaxed so much the sooner, as the confederates had yet to receive such lessons from experience as were bestowed in later times on their descendants: vanity and selfishness usurped the place of public spirit; and even when the leading men in a canton were not actuated by personal ambition or rapacity, they took it for a proof of the purest patriotism to aggrandize their canton at the expense of the rest, and did not renounce their projects of aggrandizement, though they endangered the peace, or even the existence, of the confederacy. We shall presently see Zurich, in alliance, first with Austria, and afterwards with France, contending, during fourteen years, with its utmost strength and energies, against the other confederates united. A war from which this, if no other lesson may be extracted, that the same people is capable of the brightest or the darkest deeds, according as it yields to the sway of pure or impure impulses.

The affairs of the church about this time arrested the attention of governments, as well as individual inquirers. The disorders of the ecclesiastical polity, and the evils thereby engendered, had increased in rapid progression. Negligence of their functions and encroachments over their limits on the part of the clergy, brought contempt on their order. The consequences of this contempt were schisms and ghostly extravagances, in spite of the exertions made by a few superior spirits, who, so far as was allowed by prevailing prejudices, endeavored to disseminate sounder ideas on religious subjects. It was now that those Flagellants appeared, who were not to be satisfied with the penances of the strictest monastic orders. These were followed by the Beghards and Beguines, whose associations originally were framed for laudable objects, but soon collected crowds of idle vagabonds, and encouraged all the rude exaggerations of false devotion. The Beghards were first favored, then suppressed, and their places of meeting, for instance at Basle, transferred to institutions of charity. Precautions were adopted against them, as well as against their hordes of sturdy beggars, and *all deviations* in matters of faith were visited in some places, Berne for example, with the correction of fire and sword.

Three popes, of whom each had his own phalanx of ad-

herents, then stood in opposition to each other. The original constitution of the church had been abandoned many centuries back, in which the bishops issued orders in all clerical concerns, as the *overseers* of spiritual communities. On the other hand, the doctrine of *one* visible head of the church had gradually obtained the ascendancy; and thus from a plurality of popes, each anathematizing the others, arose manifold perplexities. Nor had the horrible persecutions of the Albigenses, against whom a crusade had been preached, sufficed to crush the efforts of those who sought to restore the church in some measure to its primitive form. These efforts were revived by the Waldenses. In England, where from time to time clear views on the subject had contended with the pretensions of the hierarchy, John Wicliffe, in the latter half of the fourteenth century, strove against a whole host of clerical abuses, combated the frauds of the mendicant friars, and translated the Holy Scriptures into his mother tongue. He, too, was assailed with the accustomed persecutions; but a part of his doctrines strayed to a congenial soil in Bohemia, and found a distinguished apostle in John Huss, whom the council of Constance afterwards condemned to the stake, in contravention of its own safe-conduct.

The necessity of church reform began to be felt in all Europe; and, through the exertions of the emperor, a general assembly of the church was, after many delays, appointed to be held at Constance, towards the close of the year 1414, at which the desired reformation was to be carried into effect by a council of the higher clergy, sitting in the presence of the emperor, and assisted by a numerous body of princes and of delegates from almost every country in Europe. Of the three anti-popes, John XXIII. alone, and with reluctance, had appeared on the summons. But when he found that his own nomination to the popedom was to be brought in question, he betook himself to flight, in breach of his promise, abetted by duke Frederick of Austria. This conduct drew on the latter the ban of the empire, accompanied by the interdict of the council. He was, besides, charged with various other offences, and declared to have forfeited his fief. Many lords, lay as well as clerical, of whom most had been the former friends of Frederick, hastened to declare themselves against the outlaw. The confederates were called to aid against the former enemy, in execution of the ban of the empire; but the proposal that they should violate a treaty which had so recently been sworn for fifty years, excited very reasonable scruples. The council, indeed, promised them absolution from that as well as all their other sins; and the emperor guaranteed to them the permanent possession of whatever lands they might conquer from their hereditary enemy: but the forest cantons, as also Zurich,

Zug, Lucerne, and Glarus, remained as yet inaccessible to sophistry or temptation. On the other hand, Berne was anxious to embrace an opportunity so favorable for extending her territory, and striking a finishing blow to the power of Austria, in her neighborhood. Accordingly, on the repeated calls of the emperor and the council, to which the other confederates still delayed obedience, Berne armed without waiting for their concurrence. This aroused the jealousy of Zurich, who would not stay behind and lose her share in the booty. Finally, the rest of the confederacy gave in to the example of their principal colleagues; Appenzell and Uri were the only places which still held out. In order to avoid sharing their expected spoils with their colleagues, the Bernese promptly took the field, before any of the others were in readiness, marched into the Aargau, and besieged Zofingen. A diet had been held at Sur by the lords and towns of the Aargau, at which it had been proposed to seek an alliance with the confederates, and admission into the rank of a new canton. This was frustrated by the influence of the nobles, who maintained a firm attachment to Austria. On this it was resolved by the towns to apply for the protection of the confederacy. Too late! the Swiss banners were already over the frontiers, and Berne, as usual, foremost of all. In eight days, with very trifling losses, the Aargau, as far as the Reuss, was in their hands.

At Freyburg in Brissgau, where Frederick and the pope had taken refuge, one messenger of misfortune followed another. The revolt of large numbers of his vassals, the loss of the Thurgau, of the Aargau, of Alsace, the popular discontent in the dominions yet remaining to him, were announced to the unfortunate duke in quick and stunning succession. Such a series of reverses at length broke his resolution; and preventing the escape of the pope who still continued obstinate, he repaired to Constance to tender his submissions at the feet of the emperor, who vouchsafed his gracious pardon on condition of the pope being delivered up, and the duke's whole domains being surrendered into his (the emperor's) keeping, until he should graciously please to give them back to his repentant vassal. After many months of humiliation, and a few abortive sallies of impatience, the powerful mediation of duke Ernest, Frederick's brother, procured the restoration of the bulk of his lands, and the removal of the ban and sentence of outlawry.

While Frederick was making his submissions at Constance, the confederates were besieging his castle of Baden, which they had captured, before any notice arrived of the suspension of hostilities. The imperial heralds of peace were within a league's distance of Baden, when the strong and splendid fortress, from which Albert had menaced the forest cantons,

where the expeditions to Morgarten and Sempach had been planned, and where the Austrian princes often held their courts, was already in flames. The emperor expressed great indignation, and demanded that the confederates should give their conquests up to the empire. They replied by an appeal to the imperial guarantee by which the permanent possession of their conquests had been assured to them; and when the emperor persisted in his demands, he was given to understand that those who had made the conquests in question would not so easily be persuaded to abandon them. This hint induced the emperor to content himself with a sum of money, in consideration of which he allowed the confederates to retain their acquisitions in perpetual mortgage. The delegates of Uri renounced all participation in the newly conquered lands of the confederacy, and excited the derision of their less magnanimous colleagues by proposing to relinquish them to the emperor, in order not to violate the truce with Austria. The six other cantons came to an agreement on the subject of their common acquisitions, that each in turn should appoint a bailiff over them for two years, and that an annual account of their administration should be given.

If in the establishment of these common, or, so called, free bailiwicks, the confederates swerved from the more enlarged policy of their fathers (who had received Glarus and Zug into the rank of their confederates), and showed that they wished rather to possess indifferent subjects than friends and fellow-combatants in the cause of common freedom, yet the system of rotation in the government of the conquered lands might probably excite less aversion in their inhabitants than would have been caused by a partition of districts which had previously composed one jurisdiction. Gross administrative abuses were at that time out of the question. Sovereignty was exercised in a spirit of great mildness and indulgence to the independent feelings of its subjects. Nevertheless the subsequent abuses in the government of these common bailiwicks, the political insignificance to which their population was consigned, and the moral evils thereby engendered, remain a warning example of the consequences produced by all deviations from the path of correct principle.

After Frederick's submission, the elector of Brandenburg was employed to secure, by fair or forcible means, the pope's person. John was brought a prisoner to Constance; the council made inquiries into his course of life from youth upwards; found it to have been highly vicious and scandalous; declared him to be more deserving of death at the stake than the papal chair, and pronounced a formal sentence of deposition. John lived several years in easy custody; was afterwards released,

and went to Florence, where he was favorably received by his successor, and died cardinal bishop of Frascati. The choice of a new pope (Martin V.), which, by an improvident or insidious vote of the council, was made to precede the farther agitation of the points of which the discussion had formed their original object in meeting, restored, indeed, the unity of the papal power, but not the order or discipline of the church, whose new head thought nothing of such urgent importance as to bring about the speedy dissolution of an assembly, the very existence of which he viewed as a menace to the hierarchy.

Cardinal Poggio, one of the first men of what was then the first nation of Europe, present at this council, has left us a description of the gaieties attending it, which exhibits Swiss manners in amusing contrast with those of Italy. In Switzerland, and the neighboring regions of Germany, the mode of life in all classes was homely and domestic, but by no means sombre or morose. They loved the song and dance; and, in their melodies, pious hymns or martial strains alternated with love-songs. Their games were of an athletic or burlesque kind: gambling was as little in the habits as in the laws of the people. Though the birth of illegitimate children was not a rare occurrence, it appears, according to Poggio, almost incredible how utterly unsuspecting was the confidence of parents and husbands. This may partly be accounted for by the general turn to gaiety, incompatible with dark distrust or deep-laid machinations. Poggio compares the mode of life which he found at the baths of Baden to the ancient Greek descriptions of the games of the goddess of Paphos.

The multitude of masterless servants, forsaken females, and vagabonds of every description, whom curiosity, or the hope of easy winnings, under the pretext of devotion, had collected at Constance, leagued themselves with the bands of sturdy beggars who had long formed a kind of confraternity. About this time, too, swarms of unknown strangers made their appearance, brown in complexion, foreign in aspect, ill supplied with clothing: their leader was named Michael, or, as he styled himself, **DUKE MICHAEL OF EGYPT**: his followers were known by the name of *Cingari* or *Zingari* (in German, *Zigeuner*, gipsies). So little was known of oriental languages in those times, that these adventurers could tell what tales they pleased about their origin.* They pretended to have come from Lower Egypt, and to belong to the number of those who had not received Joseph and Mary; that they had now become Christians, and were bound on a seven years' pilgrim-

* Müller, iii. 115.

age. It has at length been conjectured, from their language, that they were driven out by the great convulsions of India, when the dynasty of the sultan of Ghaour was overthrown by Pir Mohammed Jehan Ghir, the grandson of Timur.

The council of Constance had not yet been closed, and the conquest of the Aargau was but newly completed, when a fresh source of disquietude was opened. Even in remote antiquity, traces of a lively love of freedom had displayed themselves in the Valais. That district had maintained a brave though unsuccessful struggle with Rome; and had always known how to vindicate and extend its freedom against Savoy, and other powerful enemies, whether external or internal. When, in 1411, the confederates surprised and took possession of the valleys of Ossola, the baron Guiscard of Raron, captain-general of the Valais, and co-burgher of Berne, had allowed certain contemptuous expressions to escape him, which had deeply offended the irritable warriors of the forest cantons: accordingly they sent one of their leading men to Berne to deliver their complaints against Raron. Berne replied that it was not in her power to procure satisfaction for them, as Raron's right of citizenship had already expired for some time. The forest cantons now applied to the Valaisans themselves, by whom the power of the family of Raron had long been felt oppressive and dangerous. Guiscard himself lay under the imputation of hating, out of innate pride, all popular sovereignty; and of leaning more to the houses of Milan and Savoy than consisted with his duties as a burgher of the Valais. The popular resentment having now come to a head, it was resolved to crush the baron and his family; but lest the ring-leaders of so bold an undertaking should incur danger, an old custom was brought into play to agitate the people.

A young birch was pulled up by the roots, on which was fixed a human countenance rudely carved in wood, and wearing the expression of grief. Below this, in the stem of the tree, a nail was driven by each of the plotters, which symbolized a solemn engagement to persevere in their enterprise. In the night, this figure, commonly called a **MAZZE**, was bound to a tree on a well-frequented thoroughfare. On the following morning, crowds of passing wayfarers gathered round the tree; the agitators mixed with them, and thus ascertained the popular temper. As soon as they found it favorable (*i. e.* disposed for plunder and violence), a bold and well-spoken man stepped forth as *master of the Mazze*, unbound it from the tree, and set it up on an open space beside him. Questions were then addressed to the figure; as, "Mazze, what is your pleasure?" and its patron was requested to reply for it. At first he refused with well-assumed embarrassment; but at last,

affecting merely to comply with the will of the people, he turned to the Mazze; "Mazze, these good people are willing to help you;—speak,—name the man whom you are afraid of. Is it the Sillinen—the Asperling—the Henngarten?" (names of powerful families in the Valais). The Mazze stood immovable. "Is it the baron of Raron?" The Mazze bowed its head, and the master stood beside it in a supplicating attitude. He then addressed the multitude; "Brave men, you have heard whom the Mazze complains of; whoever will fight for the Mazze, let him hold up his hand!" A majority instantly showed itself in favor of the Mazze, and all law and order were suspended. The summons went through the whole land to the rescue of the Mazze: the obnoxious baron's castles and estates, as well as those of his relatives, friends, and dependants, were sacked by a furious multitude; and nothing but a rapid flight could have saved the lives of those who were thus solemnly devoted to the vengeance of the people.

The Swiss had already marched over the Penine Alps about the commencement of this (the fifteenth) century, and had permanently occupied the Eschenthal and the Val Levantina. These conquests drew on them the severest check they had hitherto met with. Philip Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, whose brother had lost the lands in question, took every means to regain them: he succeeded, by dint of dexterous negotiation, in obtaining from the count of Sax Misoix, the owner of Bellinzona, a promise that he would cede the town which commanded the pass into Italy southwards, and into the Val Levantina northwards. Uri and Unterwalden, however, obtained by purchase the promised domains; threw a garrison into the town; obtained a confirmation of their title from the emperor, and took a position which admirably covered their own possessions, while it offered every facility of attack on the Milanese. Visconti would have purchased back Bellinzona from the confederates, but found his proposals rejected, and was reduced to intrigue in silence: he watched his opportunities for more than a year and a half, while the confederate garrison gave itself up to a dangerous security. In the mean time he formed traitorous connexions in the town itself; and, on the first occasion which offered, his general, Agnolo della Pergola, surprised and took Bellinzona, allowed the Swiss free egress, and took possession of the Val Levantina as far as the St. Gothard. So soon as this was known to the men of Uri and of Unterwalden, they made no doubt that the confederates would instantly take up arms to avenge the affront aimed, through their sides, at the whole Helvetic body.

But the views of the confederates were exceedingly divided on the expediency, as well as on the duty, of maintaining

these acquisitions on Italian ground. At length assistance was promised by Lucerne, Schwytz, Nidwalden, Zug, and Glarus. The troops of Lucerne, Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden, 3000 strong, took the field, without waiting for the rest, and reached Bellinzona without meeting with any opposition. Here, however, they were encountered by an army far superior to their own, commanded by the most distinguished officers in Italy, and sustained at Arbedo, not indeed an entire defeat, but severe loss. Disunited and discouraged, the confederates marched homewards. Success, which had invariably crowned their arms against the Germans, forsook them now for the first time, when opposed to the troops of Italy.

In the following year, after much negotiation, and many conferences, the confederates concluded a peace with the duke, not on Swiss soil, but amidst Italian influences, of which this treaty bears the stamp in its very phraseology. The cantons are termed *communes*. All their conquests were abandoned—all the title-deeds and the imperial confirmations of them given up.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR OF THE CONFEDERATES WITH ZURICH.

1436—1450.

Inheritance of Frederick Count of Toggenburg.—Disputes of Schwytz and Glarus with Zurich.—Feud of several Cantons with Zurich.—Peace.—League of Zurich with Austria.—All the Confederates against Zurich.—The Rotten Peace.—Renewal of the War.—Dauphin of France attacks Basle at the Head of a Body of Armagnacs.—Battle of St. Jacob on the Birs.—Louis offers to mediate Peace between Zurich and the Confederates.—Intellectual Culture in the fifteenth Century.—Schools.—Decline of Poetry.—Felix Hammerlin or Malleolus.—Instances of Popular Superstition.

THE confederates might have already learned from experience how much disunion weakened them, and lessened the respect entertained by foreign powers for their collective force. But their recently made conquests had evoked amongst them the evil spirits of jealousy and ambition. An unreflecting impulse towards aggrandizement had rendered them insensible to the constant truth, that no strength is imparted by constrained and disaffected subjects, and that no acquisitions would compensate the bitterness thus engendered amongst them. The evil was augmented by the influence of leading men, who knew how to communicate to the states in which they presided the contagion of their individual passions, and took a pride in making their preponderating influence universally perceived and acknowledged. Zurich not only separated

herself from her confederates, but threw herself completely into the arms of the common enemy; while even the democratic canton of Schwytz gave itself up to ambitious projects of aggrandizement.

Count Frederick of Toggenburg had accepted, in the year 1400, the co-burghership of Zurich, partly moved by feelings of distrust towards Austria, partly to procure himself a *point d'appui* in Switzerland itself against the power of the confederation. The rigors which he exercised on his subjects, while the example of the conquering people of Appenzell encouraged the oppressed to resistance, rendered alliance very desirable with a place of leading importance, through which he might make himself sure of the confederates. He renewed his right of citizenship in 1405, and, besides, obtained the freedom of Schwytz.

Rudolf Stussi, burgomaster of Zurich, at that time stood in high consideration with the count, and with the rest of the confederates; but, unfortunately, he knew not how to bear his honors meekly. It happened that his son, when on a visit to count Frederick, made himself laughed at for his arrogance by the count's young relations, as well as the other young nobles at his court. The count endeavored to pacify Stussi's resentment on the occasion; but the irritated vanity of a blinded father rendered the latter forgetful of the dignity of his station no less than of the good of his country. The confidence of his countrymen, and his own distinguished position among them, were by no means enough to satisfy his pretensions, so long as others were not compelled to feel their whole weight. The count soon afterwards lost a lawsuit at Zurich against the inhabitants of Siegberg, by a sentence which he considered an unjust one. In consequence, when Zurich desired that Frederick should name his heir, in order to know to whom he meant to transfer his civic rights; the count held out hopes that he meant to name his wife, the countess Elizabeth, who was particularly attached to the Zurichers; but, instead of this, he fixed on other relations, and shortly before his death he agreed with Schwytz upon a permanent jurisdiction over Toggenburg and Uznach, with reserve of the time which the common rights with Zurich had yet to run. He left his wife only the life-rent of his inheritance, and died on the 30th of April, 1436, having, as some thought, purposely aimed in his last testamentary dispositions at throwing matter of discord among the confederates.

The heirs, supported by Schwytz and Berne, of which some of them were burghers, proceeded to enforce their claims. Schwytz exacted oaths of allegiance in Tuggen and the Upper March. Zurich endeavored to gain for herself Gaster and

Sargans, which were divided by disputes among themselves, and made an alliance with the countess, who bequeathed the domain of Uznach to the town. On the refusal of the leading people of Uznach to acknowledge the bequest, and to do homage to Zurich, Stussi exclaimed, in order to intimidate them, "Know ye not your very bowels belong to us?" Arrogant treatment only rouses the spirit of those who are not utterly sunk in apathy; and the threats of Stussi served but to add strength to the decision of the people of Uznach. Similar results took place at Gaster and Windeck, whose inhabitants wished to be subjected to Austria rather than to Zurich. The Zurichers begged the friendly mediation of Schwytz; but the latter, instead of meeting their advances, entered into close alliance with the people of Glarus, who found it for their interest themselves to take possession of the territory claimed by Zurich. The projects of aggrandizement pursued by Stussi at Zurich were rivalled in Schwytz and Glarus by Ital Reding and Jost Tschudi; but the latter were discreet enough to keep their personal enmities subordinate to worthier ends. On both sides, however, the desire to aggrandize their own cantons and their own persons induced forgetfulness of the common good of their country and of concord, on which its strength and happiness mainly depended.

In the early part of the year 1437, Zurich and Schwytz had already posted troops on their frontiers, when the confederates made haste to interpose their mediation, and appointed a diet to be held at Lucerne. The delegates were incessantly employed during four weeks in holding consultations, or in offering propositions to the opposite parties. They separated at length without having come to any conclusion; and it was agreed to hold a new assembly of nineteen arbitrators, chosen from the five neutral cantons and the town of Soleure.

The second attempt at arbitration failed as the first had done, because the terms proposed appeared, not altogether without reason, to indicate on the part of the (so called) impartial confederates something like a leaning towards the side of Schwytz and Glarus, if not a decided plan for the humiliation of Zurich. A third meeting, attended by delegates from several of the free towns of the empire, as well as by all those of the confederacy, met with no better success than the two former; for by this time Schwytz would no longer hear of compromise of any kind, being exasperated by Zurich having taken into co-burgership the people of the count of Werdenberg-Sargans, who had previously contracted a common league with themselves and Glarus. Further attempts to negotiate were to equally little purpose. Zurich, more and more disposed to violent measures by the sense of having suffered in-

justice, appealed to the arbitration of the emperor, without, however, choosing to comply with his orders, that they should open a free market, and transit of goods to Schwytz and Glarus. Still, however, a hollow truce was prolonged, and the parties appeared at Berne, on the invitation of the neutral cantons, where a general meeting was held by the council and the delegates of the cantons, and a declaration issued, which was afterwards communicated to the disagreeing parties. On receiving it, the Zurichers protested against the menace which it held out on the part of the neutral cantons, of intervention with their whole force in case of its rejection. The league of the confederacy, they said, did not include freedom of trade or transport; and amongst the ancient rights which had been reserved in its formation, one of the principal ones was the right of appeal to the emperor.

In a diet at Zug, in the spring of 1440, Zurich refused any unconditional recognition of the rights of the confederates, and renewed its prohibition of all exports, while Schwytz and Glarus renewed theirs in the articles of wood, hay, &c. Moreover, Zurich blocked up the transmission through her territories to those cantons of all rents and dues, whether from monasteries or private persons. On the other hand, Schwytz and Glarus suddenly took possession of Sargans, where the formerly arrogant partisans of Zurich surrendered without even a show of resistance, and consented to renounce their rights of co-burghership with that town. Both sides gave notice to the confederates; and Zurich, ever disposed to rely on uncertain hopes and vague expressions, reposed too much dependence upon several of the cantons. Schwytz and Glarus now declared war against Zurich, and took up, with above 2000 troops, a position on the Etzel, while a superior force of Zurichers hastened to post themselves near Pfeffikon. Troops arrived from Uri and from Unterwalden, which had hitherto delayed to espouse either side in the contest. Their choice between the two contending parties was determined by a chance exclamation of one of their own comrades. "God forbid," said the standard-bearer of Uri, Werner der Frauen, "that I should bear my country's banner against those who have all along made their appeal to the judgment of the league, and in favor of the rebels who renounce it." Both these cantons now broke with Zurich; and thus the flame of war at length burst forth in the fifth year since the origin of civil dissension. A sudden panic struck the troops of Zurich, who fled over the lake to the town in the night of the 5th of October, and thus completely lost the confidence of the neighboring population, which in several districts had not been long subject to Zurich, and were now with ease converted from her

adherents to her enemies. The troops of Zug, Lucerne, Berne, and Soleure, now advanced into the territory of Zurich, and the whole Argovian nobility made common cause with Berne; as Zurich had become extremely obnoxious to them by her conduct towards the heirs of count Toggenburg and Austria; and the cause of the confederates seemed for once to be identified with that of the nobles. Such is the speedy punishment of that grave political error committed by those who make themselves many enemies at once, without secure or sufficient aids and alliances.

Fire, slaughter, and depredation now laid waste the lands of Zurich, flourishing with the fruits of a long peace, and so lately enjoying the highest consideration in the confederacy. The miserable peasantry sought to save themselves, and the remnant of their property, in the town. Zurich at length acknowledged the authority of the league; but now Schwytz and Glarus claimed to retain the conquests which they had made for themselves and their confederates. At length, however, terms of pacification were adjusted under the presidency of the Bernese leader, Henry of Bubenberg. Whatever had been lost by Zurich across the lake of Wallenstadt was to remain in the possession of Schwytz and Glarus,—all other claims to be settled in conformity with the common rights of the confederacy,—freedom of traffic and intercourse re-established,—Zurich making a reservation only in the article of foreign wine.

The disadvantageous terms of this peace, above all the territorial cessions to Schwytz and Glarus, which formed the first example of conquests made by confederates over each other, had filled the hearts of the Zurichers with bitterness, while the dissolution of union among the confederates had revived the hopes as well of the Argovian nobility as of all the other friends and adherents of Austria. Stussi and his party at Zurich sought to retrieve their fallen reputation at all risks. They applied to the Austrian margrave, William of Hochberg, offered to cede Kyburg to the emperor, and finally entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the house of Austria. Zurich, indeed, expressly reserved the rights of the confederacy; but the incompatibility of those rights with the objects of this new league was too obvious not to justify surprise and displeasure on the part of the other confederates. To flatter the resentment of Zurich, as well as to set up a new combination against the hated league of the Swiss, a new confederation was agreed upon, under the presidency of Zurich and the guidance of Austria, in which the Austrian districts, the bishoprics of Coire and Constance, the abbot of

St. Gall, several secular lords and towns, Appenzell and St. Gall, should be included.

The confederates demanded explanations from the Zurichers, with regard to their league with Austria; and the latter sought to justify themselves by alleging the restrictions contained in it, and the necessity under which they lay of securing their foreign trade. Constantly shifting diets and decisions succeeded each other: Schwytz, in disgust, refused to send her delegates to a meeting at Baden; and Zurich refused to appear at another, to account for her league with Austria. A numerous division of her troops had already adopted the red cross, the distinguishing badge of that power, and many displayed the hated peacock's feather on their crest. The troops of Schwytz now posted themselves on their frontier, declared war on the Austrians and the Zurichers, and repelled, though not without loss, an attack of their forces near Freyenbach. Without any fixed plan, the margrave and Stussi advanced with 5000 men over the Albis towards Zug, burned Blickenstorf, and retreated over the hill again with at least equal rapidity, when the banners of Lucerne, Uri, and Unterwalden, unexpectedly came in sight.

All the confederates now united their forces against Zurich; and 5000 or 6000 troops marched over the Albis, on the town itself, on the 22d of July, 1443. The garrison and burghers made an obstinate stand, under the double disadvantage of surprise and want of discipline. Thrown into confusion by a manœuvre of the enemy, they retreated with considerable loss into the town, which only escaped capture through the want of order in the attack. Stussi died as a hero, if he had erred as a politician; and contributed much, by the stand which he made at the bridge over the Sihl, to the rescue of his unfortunate native city.

From Zurich the confederates marched to Baden, and to Rappersweil, and laid siege in vain to the latter place. The stout defence of the town brought about an armistice; the bad observance of which, and ill-concealed aim of gaining time, acquired for it the name of the *rotten peace*. Both sides employed the interval of truce to add to their forces. The emperor and duke Sigismund sought aid of France and Burgundy. The confederates compelled the district of Gröningen into allegiance. At a diet at Baden, in March (1444), the clerical and lay lords and free towns could bring about no compromise between Zurich and the confederates. When the passions of men in power and of the multitude are excited, there may be more danger in speaking truth to a countryman, than difficulty in conquering an enemy. Three burghers of Zurich lost their lives in a popular tumult, being charged with having

shown some leaning towards the cause of the confederates at Baden.

The confederates drew their forces together at Cloten for a new campaign. They were now, moreover, joined by the men of Appenzell. Greifensee was defended for four weeks against their whole force by the steady valor of Wildhans of Breiten-Landenberg, the commander of a small but faithful garrison. No diversion was attempted from Zurich; and these undaunted men, cut off from all succor, were finally forced to surrender at discretion. The success of the confederates was stained by the decapitation of sixty-two of the garrison, promoted by the landamman of Schwytz, Ital Reding. The honest captain Holzach of Menzingen was denounced as a friend of Austria, by that young but savage chieftain, for daring to plead the cause of common humanity. The conquerors, who, except on urgent emergencies, never left their hearths for any long period, returned homewards, but soon united again for the siege of Zurich.

But now was Switzerland threatened on the west by a new enemy, the dauphin of France (afterwards Louis XI.) at the head of a formidable body of Armagnacs. These were troops of the same description as those which, under Ingelram de Coucy, had already ravaged part of Switzerland. Bernard, count of Armagnac, had employed them in the service of the house of Orleans; and though their leader fell in a popular tumult at Paris, they retained his name, and continued to distinguish themselves as Armagnacs. On the tidings of the advance of the French upon Basle, 1600 men were sent by the Swiss to strengthen the place. This little band surprised a far superior force of the enemy, on the banks of the Birs, and their fortunate rashness was crowned with success and booty. Spurred by this earnest of victory, and regarding neither the commands of their officers, nor the immense superiority of the enemy, they rushed headlong through the stream of the Birs, but were soon stopped by the enemy's heavy artillery and cavalry. Five hundred Swiss took their stand on an open ait in the stream; 700 behind garden walls, near St. Jacob, against the constantly renewed attacks of the thoroughly disciplined enemy. After ten hours of the most murderous conflict, only ten of the Swiss escaped; the rest were left dead on the field by the side of many thousands of their enemies. This was the battle of St. Jacob by Basle, which spread the renown of Swiss valor through the most remote regions, notwithstanding a victory dearly bought by France, and vainly boasted of on a medal struck by order of Charles VII., representing two prisoners bound back to back, with the legend *Helvetiorum contumacio et temeritas ferro frenata* MCCCCXLIV. The dauphin

afterwards showed that he knew better how to estimate the advantages derivable to his crown from the alliance and the arms of the confederates than his father had done. In the mean time he saw the folly of all attempts on a country, of which the borders were defended with such obstinacy. He promised not to march with his army through any part of the lands of the confederacy, and offered his mediation in order to terminate the war of the confederates with Zurich and Austria.

Our narrative cannot stop to notice many minor actions, and must even omit a whole series of diets and pacific overtures. In all affairs of any importance, the confederates had the advantage; but the districts which were the seat of war had been wasted to such a degree by their ravages, as to furnish them with no farther means of subsistence. They were, besides, heavily burdened with the garrisons which they had to maintain at Baden, Bremgarten, Mellingen, Grüningen, Pfefikon, &c. Both parties, in short, were tired out; and the war continued not so much from hope of advantage on either side, as because too many obstacles to a compromise had been raised by the exorbitant pretensions of both. However, at length the full and entire conviction of necessity enforced on them the postponement of all other considerations. The intervention of the electors of Mentz, Trier, and more especially of Louis, the young elector-palatine, resulted in a conference at Constance, where many neutral personages were present. Through Louis's indefatigable activity, and with the aid of other active and numerous mediators, the foundations of a peace were laid. In the midst of contradictory demands and allegations, the end in view was limited with admirable discretion to the establishment of tranquillity, oblivion of the past, and the division of the points in dispute. The league of Zurich with Austria was declared null and void, as contrary to the rights of the confederacy.

We find the state of intellectual progress in the first half of the fifteenth century scarcely more satisfactory than that in which the spiritual polity was left on the untimely dissolution of the council of Constance. Those cobwebs of the brain which were accredited as sciences, as little deserved the name as they did that of wholesome nourishment for the mental wants and appetites of the people; while ignorance of the languages of antiquity set a seal upon the highest productions of genius, and even on the original records of Scripture. What darkness must have still prevailed when a German monk could preach as follows:—"A language has been lately invented, called Greek. This Greek is the mother of all schisms; and in it a book hath been written, which is called the New

Testament, and in which are many perilous passages. Another language also hath arisen, which is Hebrew. Whosoever learns the same becomes a Jew!" Till the foundation of the university of Basle, which took place in the year 1460, no effectual care was taken for learning in any part of Switzerland. A tolerably instructed man was rarely found at the head of the schools, even in considerable towns. A person was considered perfectly fit for the office of pastor, who could read with facility, translate a little, retain the simplest rules of grammar in memory, sing tolerably well, and had any degree of natural eloquence. The most precious relics of Greek and Roman literature lay in numbers in a dark tower of the convent of St. Gall, and were rescued from dust and oblivion chiefly by foreigners. The poetical art of the Minnesingers had vanished; and the science of music had fallen into a state of utter decay, till the council of Basle made some attempts to revive it. Felix Hammerlin, who bore the punning surname of *Malleolus*, a canon of Zurich, an upright, learned, and sensible man, a very voluminous writer, and possessor of the then enormous number of 500 volumes, was long the greatest light of the confederacy. Even he, however, in those times the most learned man in Switzerland, and whose acquirements made him pass for a magician with the multitude, cherished many superstitious fancies. He held it, for example, highly fitting to pronounce certain forms of benediction over diseased cattle, or to still a tempest raised through satanic art by similar artifices, and, as a general rule, in cases of necessity not by any means too scrupulously to waive the devil's assistance. He fully approved the proceedings of the bishop of Lausanne, who caused sentences of Scripture to be read against the horse-leeches, which, to the great disgust of that fish-eating prelate, killed all the salmon. He also acquiesced in the indictment of the glow-worms before the spiritual court of the bishop of Coire, who, when the insect-advocate pleaded that the creatures of God did well to seek nourishment for the sustenance of their bodies, pronounced upon them solemn sentence of banishment into regions uninhabited by man. In like manner, the eels in the lake of Geneva were banished by one bishop of Lausanne, the earth-worms, grasshoppers, and field-mice, by another. Failure in the accomplishment of these and similar sentences was of course ascribed entirely to the sins of the nation.

If the people placed implicit faith in fooleries of this kind, they no less firmly believed in signs and wonders, preternatural phenomena of every description; and even spiritual dignitaries, in these respects, were no whit more enlightened than the lowest of the laity. Many were supposed to have a com-

pact with infernal spirits, and thousands were led to death at the stake on account of this delusion. Happy was the man who, by intensity of devotion, and still more by bequests to religious houses on his death-bed, could secure a good reception for his soul in the next world. But what were looked upon as the holiest of all holies were the body of Christ contained in the host, the bones of martyrs and saints, and other relics. Whoever could get any thing of this kind in an honest way, was regarded by himself and others as a made man, body and soul. But whoever came unfairly by such treasures, purloined them, or cast scorn upon them, was struck by wrath from heaven, and by God's judgments on earth.

Anna Vögtli of Bischoffzell conceived the evil thought of working enchantments with the host, and stole the same from the church of Ettiswyl, in the canton of Lucerne, on the 24th of May, 1447. She soon, however, shrunk from her own device, and cast the host behind a hedge privily. Whereupon a white seven-leaved rose sprouted instantly forth from the ground, and in its calix lay the consecrated wafer. The beasts of the field came and bowed before it. The surrounding radiance revealed it to the eyes of an innocent shepherdess, who discovered it to the people of the village. Whereupon the priests came out with toll of bell, with cross and banners, attended by a multitude of believers, to bring the holy thing back to its place. A chapel was built in memory of the circumstance, where the host did itself credit by working many signs and wonders. We scarcely need to add, that Anna Vögtli was burnt.

Greater was the general consternation at Berne than would have been caused by a surprise from the most powerful of her enemies, when, in the year 1460, in the cathedral church of St. Vincent, the host was missing one fine morning! That no thunderbolt from heaven should have fallen on the delinquent seemed a sign of the Almighty's displeasure against Berne. Innocents were put to the torture to force from them a confession of the theft. Fasting and strict discipline were enjoined by flaming ordinances; penitential homilies were fulminated from all pulpits. A new and costly receptacle was consecrated to the host, and veneration to the mother of God was displayed by renewing her temples. After the lapse of years, a priest confessed the theft on his death-bed.

Eleven o'clock one Sunday night, owing to the negligence of the monks of Einsiedlen, three strangers made away with certain relics from that monastery. The sacrilegious plunderers, seized with horror, let their spoil drop in the highway at a short distance from Zurich. The intelligence reaches Zurich,—the powers spiritual and secular, with the whole town

at their heels, hasten forth,—the treasure is brought reverently and solemnly into the great cathedral church,—and a season of extraordinary fertility is attributed to this holy acquisition. Poor Einsiedlen, shamed and sad, forsaken by her pilgrims, could only with great pains and expense recover her lost property; and even such men as Hammerlin regarded its restitution with a sigh, as the most serious loss to Zurich.

The dearth of real devotion amidst all this superstition was felt, and sought to be remedied by pomp of ceremonial. Zurich was particularly distinguished for splendor of church-service, even in the times of distress and indigence, which long wars had brought upon the town. The pope was viewed as the visible centre of God's power upon earth, as the infallible guide of all men in their spiritual concerns: but so soon as he and his priests stretched forth their fullness of power over temporal matters, they had to rue, as we have already seen, the instant disappearance of the last trace of reverent obedience.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE FIRST ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE TO THE DEATH
OF CHARLES THE BOLD OF BURGUNDY.

1453—1477.

First Alliance of Switzerland with France.—Louis XI.—Charles Duke of Burgundy.—His Character.—Takes Possession of Alsace.—Appoints Peter von Hagenbach Governor.—Conduct of the latter.—Complained of by the Swiss.—Offensive and Defensive Alliance of Switzerland with France.—With Austria.—Fate of Hagenbach.—Berne declares war against Burgundy.—Charles invades Switzerland.—Description of his Camp.—Siege of Granson.—Cold-blooded murder of the Garrison.—Battle of Granson.—Exultation of Louis XI.—Charles reappears in the Field.—Battle of Morat.—Last effort of Burgundy.—Battle of Nancy.—Death of Charles—Its Consequences.

THE long and severe struggle carried on by the confederates with Zurich and her powerful allies, if its effects had been in some respects mischievous, had yet unquestionably heightened the courage and confidence of the people, and had rendered their little territory respectable in the eyes of its more powerful neighbors. Meanwhile the newly vindicated spirit of independence was often apt to swell into presumption and violence. Wherever there was room for martial enterprise, the youth of Switzerland asked not what was the cause, but where was the seat of warfare; and even the authorities were too disposed towards making conquests to consult for the preservation of peace with any great solicitude. An anecdote remains of the youth of Zurich, which indicates the restless and exu-

berant flow of energies characteristic of the period before us. In the year 1456, the young burghers of Zurich were invited to a feast at Strasburg. They set out from Zurich in the morning, taking with them a covered pot of millet broth with warm loaves, took boat down the Limmat, the Aar, and the Rhine, regardless of the dangers of their rapid course, and on the same evening brought their broth and bread, still warm, to the table of their friends, to show with what dispatch, in case of emergency, Strasburg might expect aid from Zurich. After a few days spent in manly exercises, the gallant youths returned to their native town; but left the pot behind them, which, as a monument of their enterprise, was deposited in the armory of Strasburg.

The first alliance of Switzerland with France was closed under Charles VII., in 1453, and had no other end than to secure friendly relations between the two countries. This league was renewed in 1467, by the next king, Louis XI., who had already, as dauphin, purchased some experience of Swiss valor on the bloody day of St. Jacob, and who from that experience strove by every means, direct and indirect, to fix his Swiss allies on his side, and to turn their powerful arms against his formidable enemies, especially against the house of Burgundy. He contented himself, at first, with the renewal of the simple league of friendship formed by his father; but it was not long before he resorted to the arts of intrigue and bribery, in order to employ the confederates in a more effective manner for his own ends.

In the year 1467, Philip, surnamed the Good, duke of Burgundy, died at Bruges, in Flanders. His dominions were inherited by his son Charles, appropriately distinguished as the Bold, who mortally detested the French monarch, and was hated by him mortally in return. In the trial of strength which soon took place betwixt them, Louis evinced the ascendancy of prudence and intelligence over powerful but unregulated energies. He had succeeded to the throne of his father with extraordinary abilities for ruling, and with no inconsiderable experience; and he sat there as if he only looked upon himself in the light of the first officer of the state, whose life should be devoted to the functions of his office. The main object which he steadily placed and kept before his eyes, was the foundation of unlimited monarchical power in France, and the humiliation of the arrogant and restless feudal nobility, at the head of which were the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Bretagne. To the attainment of this object Louis proceeded without scruple by direct or indirect paths. He employed mildness and rigor by turns, divine and human authority, flattery and bribery,—constantly fraud,—rarely force.

Fidelity to his word he only practised when it served his purposes. So soon as profit appeared on the other side, he never scrupled to violate the most positive engagements. He was commonly then most dangerous to his enemies when he seemed to be most utterly inactive; and pursued his ends most eagerly precisely at the moment when all the world believed he had abandoned them. It was said of him, "that he only slept with one eye in war-time, but kept both his eyes open, day and night, in time of peace." Such was Louis towards all his enemies, foreign and internal, and above all, towards his hated rival of Burgundy. Between the latter power and France neither peace nor war could be said to exist, but abundance of faithlessness, changeableness, and irritation. Cunning at last carried off the victory, bought at the charge of others; and Louis attained his ends by perseverance and caution, and by the skilful use of many secret instruments.

Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the great rival of Louis, though nominally his vassal, yet in effect was not less powerful than the monarch himself, and was by no means disposed to play a subordinate part to him or to any other person. The flourishing condition of his territories, enriched by industry, commerce, and navigation; the accumulated treasures of his ancestors, the attachment of his subjects, and the excellence of his troops, seemed to secure him superiority over any rival; and his position at the head of all the malcontents in France completed his claim to be viewed as the king's most formidable enemy. Charles was of middle stature, strong make, brown complexion, black eyes and hair, with an aquiline nose, a broad forehead, and somewhat prominent chin. His whole physiognomy indicated a stern and martial temper. He had known, from childhood upwards, no pleasures more alluring than the excitements of the chase or the camp—no worthier scope of human undertakings than the glory of a second Alexander. Insatiable ambition formed the groundwork of his whole character. His brain teemed with projects of aggrandizement, of the possible realization of which a doubt never occurred to him. Courage, generosity, and openness, were amongst the brilliant qualities of Charles. When he once thought he had tried and proved the character of a friend, he treated him thenceforward with the most unlimited confidence; but towards enemies, or those who were indifferent to him, he was not always scrupulous in keeping his engagements. He took to himself the credit of unconquerable firmness; but good fortune hardened this quality into arrogance and obstinacy, so that his heart was closed in the day of disaster not less to the counsels of prudence than to the feelings of humanity. Such were the very opposite dispositions of the two princes,

whose enmity was the chief cause of the most severe struggle which had ever been maintained by the confederacy.

Recent feuds had rather provoked than pacified those nobles who maintained the part of hereditary enemies of Switzerland. Duke Sigismund of Austria, too weak in resolution to withstand the constant promptings and persuasions of his council, and too weak in resources to undertake any thing against the Swiss confederacy single-handed, was easily prevailed upon to look out for foreign aid. He first endeavored to gain allies in Germany, and failed: next he turned his views towards France, which had so lately sent the Armagnacs to vex the Swiss borders; but the cautious Louis had not so soon forgotten the day of St. Jacob; and saw, besides, too well how useful Switzerland might be to him, to wish for its destruction, had he possessed the power to effect it. For these reasons he granted, indeed, a subsidy in money; but declined the duke's proposal that he should take into his hands, by way of mortgage, the Austrian territories bordering on Switzerland, under condition of protecting them against the Swiss confederacy. Sigismund addressed himself next, as some affirm, by advice of Louis, to Burgundy. Such advice appears extremely characteristic of the far-sighted, acute, and subtle policy of that prince. Knowing the duke's temper, as well as that of the confederates, and well aware that the former would embrace, without hesitation, so good an opportunity of extending his dominions, he could easily foresee that when such irritable characters as Charles and the Swiss became neighbors, the outbreak of a war of extermination could not be far off. Then he would have a glorious opportunity of gratifying his hatred to the duke, without any risk or exertion on his own part, at most by some expense in money, and perfidy, which cost him nothing. If the inevitable conflict turned to the ruin of the duke, then Louis had provided for his personal vengeance, and might safely trust to his cunning to secure him the lion's share of the booty. On the other hand, even if the duke should be victorious, Louis's own experience furnished sufficient grounds of certainty, that before the Swiss gave themselves up for beaten, they would exhaust the strength of Charles so completely, that he must fall into the king's hands in a manner disarmed and defenceless. Either event could not but be advantageous to Louis: the last, perhaps, he deemed the more desirable of the two, as it might possibly place the Swiss as well as Burgundy at his mercy.

With Charles of Burgundy, Sigismund's advisers had no trouble in inducing him to accept a mortgage of the counties of Pfirt, Sundgau, Brigau, Alsace, and the four forest towns, in return for a considerable sum of money. How, indeed,

could that ambitious prince, whose favorite scheme was the junction of his unconnected domains, and, if possible, the erection of a kingdom extending from the North Sea to the Mediterranean,—how could such a prince reject so rich an acquisition, which placed in his hands a key to Germany, Switzerland, and Upper Burgundy, and lay contiguous to the latter, which was already his own property? The voluntary cession of lands so valuable to him he regarded as a signal piece of good fortune: the reservation of a future resumption appeared to him merely nominal, as Sigismund's expensive habits seemed to afford no prospect of it; and the proviso for the maintenance of the ancient constitution was regarded as an empty form requiring no observance. Thus had the Austrian nobles gained their end, of giving a powerful and dangerous neighbor to the confederacy; what did not, however, come within the range of their calculations, was, that thereby they had exposed the lands of the empire to great dangers, and prepared (in the words of Bullinger) “a rod for their own backs.”

The government of the newly acquired lands was delegated to the knight Peter von Hagenbach, a tried and proved servant of Charles, who had raised himself by his merits at the duke's court from the humblest station: this man, who, like other upstarts, thought to efface the discredit of his birth by domineering assumption, acted rather as a tyrant than a governor. As he leaned for support entirely on his patron, and treated all the world besides with total disregard, he scrupled not to deprive the nobles and commons of their franchises, and transgressed his deputed powers with so little decency or mercy, that he acquired the appellation of the “scourge of God.” His first employment, notwithstanding the express terms of the mortgage, was to regulate every thing according to the laws and customs of Burgundy. No representations or remonstrances were attended to; nothing remained but silence and submission; for Charles had known how to crush the independent spirit of far more strong and powerful populations. The confederates regarded these transactions, which were ominous of no good to themselves, with a mind prepared for all events, but not without anxiety. Relations outwardly amicable prevailed between them and Burgundy, till Hagenbach went so far as to plant the colors of the latter power on the Bernese territory of Schenkenberg: this occurrence Louis instantly turned to his own advantage. The confederates had empowered Berne, whose government was better versed in diplomacy, and acquainted with the French language, than those of the other cantons were in general, to close a treaty with France in the name of the whole league, in any case of

necessity or expedience : this was accordingly done. The king and the confederacy reciprocally engaged to give no aid to the duke of Burgundy : this arrangement deprived the duke of all hope of Swiss assistance in executing his projects against France. Charles, who did not wish to bring the confederates still closer to the king than they were already, commanded his vogt to desist from farther encroachments. The enmity between Charles and Louis increased ; and, but for Berne's prudent and resolute conduct, the confederates might already have been plunged in a war. Many had been won by French gold, others were inclined to the cause of Burgundy, and the state of affairs became more and more complex. The barons of Heudorf, Eptingen, and other noble foes of the Swiss, saw with dissatisfaction that the mortgaged lands had now been for three years in the duke's possession, without the expected war with the confederates having commenced : they therefore endeavored, under the shield of Burgundy, to embitter the Swiss by flagrant violations of the last treaty of peace, and the law of nations. Thus the Swiss had now incentives to war on two sides ; a third was soon added : for the mortgaged lands, which had formerly been ruled with mildness and equity, now, oppressed as they were by a reckless tyrant, looked for relief towards the Swiss league. Hagenbach had made himself, in a short time, as detested as the Gessler and the Landenbergers had formerly been in Switzerland. The imposts which he exacted, the regulations which he introduced, were utterly unendurable to the people : his merciless rigor, joined with haughty arrogance ; his boundless immoralities, extortions, and judicial murders, filled up the measure of popular hatred ; which, moreover, laid to his charge all that was done by him in performance of the will of his master. Charles, who felt no enmity against the confederates, assured them of his undiminished favor ; and procured, by intervention of Sigismund, a settlement of the feud with Heudorf and others. But Louis's intrigues, and Hagenbach's recklessness, diminished the advantageous impression made by the duke's efforts ; and, not long afterwards, Charles offended personally a highly respectable body of Swiss delegates, who came to complain of the conduct of his vogt.

Hagenbach, who could not conceal his hatred of the confederates, seized every opportunity of outrage against the whole people, or its individual leaders. He increased the tolls, invaded the rights of Swiss owners of land whose property lay in the new Burgundian territory, and supported with his influence every enemy of Switzerland. Swiss traders were robbed by the nobles with his knowledge and connivance, and made prisoners for the sake of extorting ransom. Hagenbach

himself tried every method of reducing Muhlhausen under the power of Burgundy; and when the harassed town pleaded her existing league with the Swiss, the vogt scoffingly promised to convert it from a cow-house to a garden of roses.

About this time the sorely oppressed districts addressed the most urgent petitions for release to duke Sigismund. That good but feeble prince sincerely deplored that he had put his land in more powerful keeping than his own, from which it would not be easy to recover it. The *lower union*, a league of the most considerable towns of Alsace, had promised to advance the sum required to redeem the mortgaged estates. But the assistance of the warlike confederates was likely to be requisite in effecting the redemption; as it was easy to foresee that Charles would accept no pecuniary equivalent for domains which he now viewed as his own absolute property. Sigismund, therefore, made overtures of alliance to the Swiss.

Shortly after these transactions Charles entered Alsace with 5000 horse, and a numerous courtly attendance. Panic preceded him everywhere. Many left the country, with their property. The peasantry sought refuge in the towns; the towns solicited aid of the confederacy. Several fortified places closed their gates. Basle made a defensive alliance with Switzerland, in case of any sudden surprise, and received an addition of 800 Swiss to its garrison, with the promise that in case it were besieged the whole force of the confederacy should march to its relief. In the mean time the confederates conducted themselves as if they had no cause for apprehension. They sent a deputation to the duke to pay their respects, and to lay their complaints before him against Hagenbach. At a more auspicious moment Charles might probably have averted the impending storm from his head, by affording satisfaction for the grievances complained of; but now, surrounded as he was by the worst foes of Switzerland, he showed offensive pride and haughty coldness. The humiliating ceremony of falling on one knee before the duke was enforced on the reluctant republicans; and after they had followed in his train for some time, they were uncourteously dismissed from Dijon, without reply to their application.

From this time forward the confederates attached themselves decidedly to Charles's enemies, while Hagenbach, to the duke's own disadvantage, received encouragement in his mischievous proceedings. On the 10th of January, 1474, Berne closed, in the name of all the confederates, an offensive and defensive league with Louis of France, which could point at nothing else but war with Burgundy. In this alliance the eyes of the confederates were blinded to their true interests by a large immediate profit. True policy would certainly not have

led them to annihilate a power which alone balanced that of France. But their measures were much more the result of momentary impressions than of any systematic plan or principle. From this epoch first began the demoralizing influence of French manners and money, through enlistments and pensions. The intelligence of this alliance took the duke by surprise, and he left no means untried to win the Swiss back to his interests. An embassy was sent to the confederates to soften the impression made by Charles's haughty deportment. Their efforts seemed to meet with success. But the emperor and the French king, convinced that a check must be given to Burgundy for the sake of their own safety, and that the confederates were the instruments best adapted for that purpose, plied them with such active intrigues, that hostile steps were soon taken. The alliance which, we have already seen, Austria courted with Switzerland, finally took place. It was long before the Swiss could be convinced of the sincerity of the Austrian intentions. The hereditary hostility of that house to Swiss freedom was still retained in too lively remembrance; but Joseph von Sillinen, provost of Bérnmunster, succeeded at length in satisfying his countrymen of the honorable purposes of Austria. One hundred and fifty-nine years after the battle of Morgarten, eighty-eight years after the defeat of duke Sigismund's grandfather at Sempach, that prince and the whole body of confederates, contracted, under the guarantee of France, the *eternal covenant*, a treaty transmitted almost uninterruptedly to our own times. All wars and disputes were to be ended by it. Austria abandoned all claim to restitution of her losses in Switzerland, whether early or recent. Freedom of trade and intercourse was restored. Neither party should favor or support the foes of the other; but stood pledged to afford each other reciprocal aid. Hardly had this treaty been concluded, when Sigismund hastened to demand the release of his land from the duke of Burgundy. The towns of the Lower Union advanced the sum, which in a few days lay in readiness at Basle. Sigismund, whose first intention had been to humble the Swiss by aid of the Burgundians, was now well pleased to find the former disposed to take his part against Burgundy. He made a visit to Switzerland in person, and won the hearts of the people so completely, that all remembrance of ancient enmity vanished, and the Swiss vied with each other in cordial welcome of their new ally.

When Hagenbach was informed of these transactions, he resolved to take all possible means to secure the duke his master in possession of the mortgaged lands, as he knew that Charles affirmed himself to have purchased them, and had no idea of making restitution. In this view, Hagenbach aimed

at securing the fortified town of Breisach, entered the place on Good Friday, at the head of some hundred Lombards, disturbed divine service, committed various acts of violence, and drove matters so far with an already disaffected people, that a tumult arose, in which his Lombards were driven out of the town, he himself taken prisoner in the name of duke Sigismund, and his life rescued with difficulty from the fury of the people. Hagenbach was thrown into a dungeon, and Sigismund sent a new vogt to replace him in his territories thus regained without stroke of sword. Charles threatened loudly, and marched one division of his army to the frontiers. Hagenbach, in the mean time, lavished promises in vain to procure his liberation. He still entertained hopes from his master; but Charles was not magnanimous enough to interfere in the behalf of an old servant, whose death would give so welcome a pretext for revenge. Four weeks after Hagenbach's imprisonment, he was brought to trial. The archducal councillors, the delegates of the mortgaged lands and the towns of the Lower Union assembled, surrounded by innumerable multitudes, brought together by curiosity or malice. The prisoner had often been awaked from uneasy slumber by the clatter caused by new arrivals of delegates, as they rode through the city gates, under the cell where he lay in confinement. His terror may be imagined when the keeper announced the arrival of a troop of tall and strong, though gray-headed, strangers, coarsely clad, and indifferently mounted. "Those must be the Swiss!" he exclaimed: "God help me; for they have much to bring against me!" His gloomy anticipations did not deceive him. He was doomed to death; and no less than eight candidates disputed the honor of executing the sentence.

Hagenbach's execution was the signal for war; and Charles swore he would lose his life rather than his revenge. His revenge he was, however, compelled for the moment to postpone, being entangled in a war of some importance in another quarter. This interval was employed by the confederates in providing for their security on all sides. Friendly relations were established with Milan and Savoy. Duke René of Lorraine, whose territories excited the cupidity of Charles, as they very inconveniently severed his southern from his northern possessions, was taken into the union against Burgundy. Hostilities were commenced in the Sundgau, in the autumn of the same year, by a division of troops under the command of Hagenbach's brother. Berne appointed a diet of all the confederates at Lucerne, and was invested with discretionary powers to take measures for the general good. Vain were the representations of those who saw clearly, and said loudly, that the

confederates were placing themselves as tools in the hands of the French king, and that, so soon as they had done his work, he would rob them of the profits. On the 2d of October, 1474, an alliance with France was concluded at Berne in the name of all the confederates. The Swiss engaged to supply the king with 6000 fighting men, whenever he might need their assistance: on his part he should only be summoned to aid in case of necessity; and in all wars with Burgundy might contribute his contingent in the shape of a pecuniary subsidy. Thus the crafty Louis called the Swiss confederacy to arms for the promotion of his own ends against Burgundy, while he turned away the ravages of war from his own territories. On the 9th of October, an embassy from the emperor summoned the confederates to attack the duke of Burgundy, with the promise, that while they advanced on the south-east of his territories, the emperor would assail them on the side of the Netherlands. The confederates hastened to Lucerne to complete their deliberations; but before these had been closed, Berne, on the strength of the full powers which were devolved on her, declared war with Burgundy. Many, indeed, did not consider these powers as warranting, in their true sense, a measure so decisive; but regarded them as merely having been given for the conclusion of the necessary treaties with France. But the murmurs of those unseduced by French pensions and promises were shortly to be drowned in the shouts of victory.

The foregoing declaration against Burgundy brought out the confederates more boldly than ever on the theatre of events beyond the circle of their compact. In the preceding age they had struggled against Austria in defence of their national existence; in the war of the Aargau they merely obeyed the summons of the empire; they engaged in the war with Zurich first from passion, then for their own protection. But now Berne had drawn the other confederates, with the prospect of but limited assistance from abroad, into mortal strife with the mightiest of their neighbors, whose dominions stretched from the coasts of the North Sea over the greater part of the rich and populous Netherlands, over the duchy and free county of Burgundy, and many other lordships besides.

The army of the confederates, amounting in all to a force of about 18,000 men, appeared before Hericourt, a strong-hold of Diebold of Neuchâtel in the Franche-Comté. It was in vain that a strong body of Burgundians, under the command of Jacob de Romont, count de Vaud, made an effort to effect a diversion. On the 13th of November, he was routed by the avoyer of Scharnachthal and Felix Keller of Zurich. Hericourt was surrendered, and taken into possession in the name

of duke Sigismund of Austria. The army returned homewards; and the discontent which had arisen among many of the confederates on account of the precipitate declaration of war on the part of Berne was put an end to by the victory, and still more by the plunder. The confederates, however, renewed at Lucerne the regulations of their old martial law, on account of the disorders which had taken place through the stimulus of wine and love of plunder; considering, moreover, that disturbers of discipline are less deserving of mercy than open enemies. It was resolved that a division of the rear-guard should receive orders to cut down all who engaged in plunder before the battle was over; and that then whatever booty was made should be fairly shared in common. Louis XI. lavished flatteries; begged aid of the lords confederates, in case the duke should attack him, and promised to participate with them all the hazards of warfare. If his subsidies to the cantons suffered occasional delays, his pensions to their leading men at least were paid punctually. On the 6th of April, 1475, the account of the disbursements to those magistrates and officers, who had in effect sold themselves to France, was regularly settled between Louis's commissioner and the Bernese avoyer Diessbach.*

Republican venality was soon repaid by royal faithlessness. The first of their august allies who forsook the Swiss was the emperor Frederick, who, equally regardless of them as of René and duke Sigismund, concluded a dishonorable peace with the duke of Burgundy in order to win the daughter of the latter for his son. Actuated by similar delusive expectations, Louis closed a nine years' truce with Charles, in which he sacrificed, without scruple, the interests of Switzerland, as well as of the Lower Union of Burgundy. In the perilous position of the confederates, the margrave Rudolph endeavored to mediate a truce for them with Burgundy. His conciliatory labors did not prosper, as the former would not abandon those allies which were still true to them. Charles had now achieved the complete conquest of Lorraine; and from thence marched through Besançon in mid-winter, in order to chastise the confederates, above all, the Bernese, for their audacity. Flames and other incendiary devices on his banners gave a sufficiently graphic announcement of his intentions. At Besançon he was joined by his corps of artillery, and by reinforcements from Italy and Burgundy, which brought his force up to about 60,000 men. This army, though numerically imposing, consisted in a great measure of raw and hastily levied troops, and advanced as if the object of its meeting were the

* Müller. iv. 725, &c.

joyous celebration of some festival, instead of mortal strife with the descendants of the victors of Morgarten, Sempach, and Laupen. Charles drew in his train the greater part of his court, the whole splendid cortège of his attendants, all his treasures and valuables, a crowd of cooks and trades-people of all descriptions, with whole stores of their several commodities, and a multitude of light and loose companions; so that his camp, including all its useless followers, might contain perhaps 100,000 persons.* This motley host inundated the land like a mountain torrent. Charles formed an encampment, which, in display of wealth and magnificence, resembled a luxurious capital city more than a place of arms. It was regularly laid out in wide streets. The richest and the most diversified articles of convenience and of ornament were displayed in tents and booths. But for the sullen roar of artillery, the scene would have appeared a fair rather than a camp. An artificial mount was raised in the midst, on which stood the magnificent tent of the duke himself. From the oriental pomp of this pavilion Charles might gaze with gratified pride upon the glittering lines beneath him, little imagining that he looked on all his glories for the last time.

On the 19th of February Charles laid siege to Granson, a little town on the lake of Neuchâtel. He attacked the place in his usual manner, by storm—by which all that he gained was the possession of an untenable town, while the garrison withdrew into the well-fortified castle, on which the duke's artillery kept up an incessant fire. Unhappily the powder-magazine in the castle exploded; the master gunner was killed, and a dearth of provisions began to be felt in the garrison. Nevertheless their courage did not abandon them, and no thought was entertained of surrender, till a Burgundian made his appearance in the castle, by name Ronchant, who had already at a former period wandered about Switzerland, and acquainted himself with the character of the people. This knowledge he employed with sinister skill in practising on the garrison with fabricated intelligence. He assured them that Freyburg was already in ashes, Berne had surrendered at discretion, and the troops of the confederates were disbanded. He spoke alternately of the dreadful wrath of the duke, and of his gracious disposition towards the garrison, and was seconded so well by a strong party in the castle, that the bolder spirits were forced to yield to the cry for capitulation.

* "A grand chevauchée," says Philip de Comines, "venoit le duc Charles, avec moult gens d'armes, de pied et de cheval, répandant la terreur au loin par son ost innombrable. Là étoient cinquante mille, voire plus, de toutes langues et contrées, force canons et autres engins de nouvelle facture; pavillons et accoutrements tout reluisants d'or, et grande bande de valets, marchands, et filles de joyeux amour."

Accordingly the castle was evacuated, and its recent defenders brought into the camp before Charles, who contemptuously asked, on their appearance, "Who are those people?" and affected to know nothing either of Ronchant or his promises. Persuaded by his councillors that a signal example was necessary, the terror of which would throw all other fortified places open to him, misled, moreover, by pride of power, the quality most opposite to any thing like true greatness of soul, Charles gave up the garrison of Granson to execution. Most of them were stripped naked and hanged on trees the same day; the remainder drowned in the lake on the following morning. The silent intrepidity with which they met their death extorted respect, mingled with awe, from the enemy; and the fortune and honor of Burgundy sunk from the hour when that atrocious crime received its consummation.

On the very day when these proceedings took place, the main body of the Swiss army, 20,000 strong, was drawn together near Neufchâtel. The news of the massacre filled them with deep rage and thirst for vengeance, while the duke gave himself up to idle dreams of renown and conquest. When informed of the approach of the confederates, he made his preparations for immediate action. His army was intrenched behind Granson, in an admirable position, well fortified by art and by nature, with the lake on the right, the chain of the Jura on the left, in front the Arnou, the banks and approaches of which were covered by a formidable artillery. It was evident that the Swiss, whose whole force hardly amounted to a third of that of the duke, could not attack him in this secure position with any chance of success. They therefore resolved to draw him out by stratagem, and directed an attack upon the castle of Vaumarcus, which lay between Neufchâtel and Granson, and in which, by the account of several writers, some of Charles's favored counsellors and courtiers had temporarily taken up their residence. The confederates hoped that Charles's pride would render it impossible for him to remain a quiet spectator of the action. They had calculated rightly; for Charles, sooner than they anticipated, and before they had made their assault upon Vaumarcus, quitted, against the advice of his best counsellors, a highly advantageous position; and, in order to protect a fortress utterly insignificant, marched to meet the Swiss upon ground where he could neither deploy his forces, nor make any important use of his artillery and cavalry.

On the 3d of March, the vanguard of the Swiss, the men of Schwytz and Thun, accompanied by numerous volunteers, advanced from Neufchâtel. It was early in a dull and misty morning. Having ascended the heights in the neighborhood

of the castle, they saw to their astonishment, when the vapors cleared from the low grounds, the whole force of the enemy drawn out into the valley before them. The Burgundians advanced. The Swiss sent back to hasten the march of their slowly advancing main body, and then fell on their knees to pray, according to the custom of their fathers. The enemy, unacquainted with this pious usage, and imagining that the whole confederate army was before them, and had fallen on their knees to implore mercy, raised a simultaneous shout of derision. A troop of cuirassiers dashed forwards to trample down the supplicants, but was indifferently received by the long spears of the confederates, and effectually repulsed by their advance in close order. After a discharge from the Burgundian artillery, which was pointed too high to take much effect, Charles endeavored with his best troops to break the line of the Swiss in front, while count Louis of Château Guyon, a personal foe of the confederates, charged them in flank, at the head of 6000 horse. Now was the hottest rage of battle. The Swiss were hard pressed. Twice had Château Guyon seized with his own hand the banner of Schwytz; when he was struck down. His troops wavered, dismayed by the fall of their leader. At this moment, a new and fearful sound arose from the heights in the rear of the confederates, and drew thither the eyes of the Burgundians. A fresh array of combatants covered the ridge. The horn of Uri blew the note of death, which was caught up and re-echoed by that of Unterwalden. And when the whole body of Swiss, after discharging their pieces with deadly precision, came down, man upon man, while new bands issued continually from the hollow ways and the thickets, that inexplicable sort of panic came on the Burgundians, which occasionally seizes the most resolute. They gave the battle up for lost. A feint of their own cavalry, who attempted by a retrograde movement to draw the Swiss into a disadvantageous position, was taken by the infantry as a signal for flight. Vainly did Charles, at the head of his horsemen, throw himself across the swarm of fugitives. The whole host fell asunder; and instead of retreating to the fortified camp, where they might have rallied, took to flight, some towards Granson, some into the woods and fields, some over the Arnou or the mountains, and others again in⁶boats across the lake. The unfortunate prince, with only five companions, directed his flight through the nearest pass of the Jura.*

When the spoil of the duke's camp came to be shared among

* "A bien dire la vérité," says Comines, "je croy que jamais depuis il n'eut l'entendement si bon qu'il avoit eu auparavant cette bataille."
—Liv. v. ch. 3.

the cantons, it was found to contain 120 pieces of ordnance, 600 standards, and about 10,000 pack-horses. These and an infinite quantity of other munitions of war, the whole of the ducal ornaments and valuables of every description, his golden seal, a pound in weight, his decorated prayer-book, the treasures of his generals and courtiers, remained in the possession of the victors. The rich hangings and pavilions were for the most part cut to pieces. Gold was shared by hatfuls; diamonds, which now adorn the most magnificent crowns in Europe, were first ignorantly thrown aside, then sold for trifling sums. In the division of this booty the least part came to the common stock. Many subsequent diets were engaged on the subject; and one of the great diamonds was sold in 1492, on the public account, for 5000 guilders. In imitation of foreign usages, the most distinguished leaders were created knights on the field of battle by the avoyer, Nicholas of Scharnachthal, as the oldest knight present. The town and castle of Granson were speedily retaken, and the exasperated youths of Berne and Freyburg hung part of the garrison up by the same ropes from which they had taken down their slaughtered brethren. They remained three days on the field of battle, and Granson was left occupied by a Swiss garrison.

Perhaps even greater pleasure was given by Charles's defeat to his evil angel Louis XI. than that which was experienced by the victors themselves. Indeed the battle was fought as much in his cause as in theirs, without having cost him any thing more than money and duplicity. On the first breaking out of war he had hastened to Lyons, in order to be nearer the scene of action. From thence he sent spies in various disguises into Switzerland, and waited with impatience for decisive intelligence. The Swiss, justly indignant at his treacherous conduct, had alarmed him with the idea that they meant to close a treaty of peace, if not actually of alliance, with his rival. At length, however, arrived the tidings of Granson, on the reception of which, the only alloy to Louis's satisfaction was, that more Burgundians had not been left dead upon the field. However, he contrived to conceal his pleasure, and did not omit to send the duke a message of condolence. The richest of his presents, and the strongest of his assurances, were lavished on the Swiss, to engage them in the farther prosecution of the contest; for the day of Granson had neither sufficed to still his apprehensions, nor to satisfy his thirst for revenge.

Charles, in the mean while, rallied all his resources: every sixth man was enlisted, every sixth penny was exacted; only a single iron vessel was left to any cook; the bells were taken down from the church-towers to be cast into cannon, and new

artillery was brought from Lorraine. Fresh troops were levied in Savoy and Italy; and thirteen days after the rout of Gran-son, Charles reappeared in the Valais, and remained for seven weeks at Lausanne, where he found himself again at the head of an army still superior in numerical force to his former one. The confederates, on the other hand, showed no eagerness to comply with Berne's summons to the field. They discovered, or fancied, projects of aggrandizement on her part; expressed dissatisfaction with the division of the plunder; and did not hold themselves bound to cross the limits of the confederacy. A conference of their delegates took place at Lucerne, where new regulations were adopted with regard to plunder, &c. Finally, a thousand men, with a newly arrived body of German cavalry, were dispatched to Freyburg, who, supported by the citizens, engaged several divisions of the Burgundian army with vigor and success.

Berne detached 1500 men to garrison Morat on the lake of that name, under command of the ex-avoyer Adrian of Buben-berg, a man such as extraordinary emergencies demand, although they do not always supply. He had strenuously opposed the war with Burgundy at the outset, and therefore had been thrown into the background by the dominant party; but a man of his character never dreams of avenging on his country the wrongs which he may have received in his own person from his countrymen. He exacted of the garrison under his orders an oath to inflict immediate death on any one who should speak of surrender, himself the first, in case he should be guilty of such a proposal. On the 9th of June the Burgundian troops appeared before Morat. Attempts to take the place by storm were repelled with signal loss to the enemy, and the breaches made on the walls were all repaired during the night. Wherever danger appeared, Adrian showed himself. He sent to Berne to dissuade his fellow-citizens from exposing themselves by precipitately attempting to relieve him, until they should be reinforced by the rest of the confederates: in the mean time, he should know how to maintain his post without assistance.

Berne renewed, with earnestness, her summons to the confederates, some of whom had regarded Morat merely in the light of a point of aggrandizement for Berne, not as an important advanced post of the confederacy. But at length they took a larger view of the circumstances, and hastened to assist the besieged. Louis XI. remained inactive, having betaken himself to Lyons, on pretence of a pious pilgrimage, in order to observe the march of events, and be prepared to act according as his interest should dictate. He pretended friendship alternately to both sides. All the force which Berne could

muster, with the aid of her out-burghers, reinforced from the other cantons, from Basle, the Lower Union of Burgundy, and a strong body of Austrian cavalry, drew up on the high grounds stretching on the south-west of Morat; and the young count René hastened through an enemy's country to join them. A Swiss council of war in those times was not wont to deliberate whether or no an attack should be made, but what was the most effectual mode of making it. Hans of Hallwyl led the van and the right wing; Waldmann, jointly with Wilhelm Herter of Strasburg, the main body; Hertenstein of Lucerne commanded the rear. For the first time, the confederates formed in widely extended lines. They overlooked the whole Burgundian army, intrenched behind quickset hedges in close order of battle, with formidable batteries in their front. When the Austrian cavalry officers advised the confederates to ensconce themselves behind a fence of baggage-wagons, and await, in this position, the attack of the enemy, Felix Keller of Zurich made reply, that the confederates were wont to be beforehand with their enemies. "God with us against the world!" cried Hallwyl to his followers. At this instant, the sun broke through the heavy clouds which had veiled it. "Heaven lights us to victory!" he exclaimed, waving his sword. "Forward! think of your wives and children: youths, think of your loved ones; yield them not up to the lewd and godless enemy!"

They rushed without hesitation on the terrible artillery, which galled the cavalry more than the foot-soldiers. The garrison of Morat made a sally simultaneously with the general charge of their countrymen. The body-guard of the duke and a free company of English maintained their ground gallantly for some time, but were driven in at length, and all was lost. The flying troops of Burgundy were pursued as far as Wiflisburg, with the shouts, "Remember Brie! Remember Granson!" Fifteen thousand corpses strewed the wide extent of the field of battle; thousands sunk in the neighboring lake and morasses.* The plunder, in arms, valuables, and forage, though it could not be compared to that of Granson, was considerable; but in this, as in former instances, the rules of division were not adhered to. Charles fled, without once halting, to Morges. Notwithstanding the desire of Berne to follow up the victory, the confederates, for the most part, hastened homewards from the field of battle.

* The ossuary at Morat, which received the bones of the slain Burgundians, exhibited the following inscription, till its destruction by the French in 1798:—

Deo Opt. Max.
Caroli inclyti et fortissimi Ducis Burgundiæ,
Exercitus, Muratum obsidens,
Hoc sui monumentum reliquit.
M.CCCC.LXXVII.

The emperor, the pope, and the king of Hungary, offered their mediation for a peace; but Charles could not be brought to renounce his pretensions to Lorraine. Too late he made approaches to his people in his misfortunes, and sought to inspire them with ardor for his cause. The Burgundians and Netherlanders received his advances coldly; and while he yielded up his mind to gloomy discouragement, René had again made himself master of his capital, and a considerable portion of his territory. Charles now collected all the force at his command, and prepared to besiege Nancy, while count René went to solicit aid of his friends the confederates. He presented himself in tears before the council of Berne, who, mindful of the reproaches they had incurred on a former occasion, would now conclude nothing without taking the sense of the other cantons. A diet was convoked at Lucerne, before which René renewed his pressing entreaties. It now occurred to every one, that a struggle with their enemy in Lorraine, and in the pay of count René, was preferable to gratuitous blows impending on their own frontiers. Count René was enabled to return to his own territories at the head of 8000 Swiss, of numerous reinforcements from Germany, and of such of his own subjects as adhered to his cause. In point of numbers, Charles's force was inferior to that of René: he was surrounded, indeed, by his bravest and his most devoted warriors; but discouragement pervaded the mass of his followers. His faithful adherents earnestly implored him to retreat, to collect his strength, and harass his antagonists with delays; but a Neapolitan favorite of Charles, Campo-Basso, who had already long betrayed the trust reposed in him, unhappily still retained his entire confidence; and, under this man's guidance, Charles blindly rushed on destruction. On the onset of the enemy, this wretch would have gone over to them, but was repulsed by the confederates with horror; Charles was left exposed in flank, and surrounded by the enemy; his bravest fell; his disheartened troops were soon scattered; and the duke himself, resolved to stake all upon a last throw, received a random death-stroke in the *mêlée*.

So soon as Louis was certified of his hated rival's death, he exerted himself to appropriate his succession, with an eagerness which seems to have got the better of his habitual cunning and caution. The princess Mary, daughter of the deceased duke of Burgundy, might possibly have been gained in marriage, by skilful negotiations, for Louis's younger son, the duke d'Angoulême; but as Louis attempted to exercise his authority over Mary as a crown vassal, *demanding* her hand for the dauphin, and developed too precipitately his plans of union with Burgundy, he alienated the princess altogether.

from his house. Soon afterwards a marriage treaty was closed for her by the states of the Netherlands with the archduke Maximilian, son of the emperor, in whom they hoped to find a protector against the threatened encroachments of Louis, and a ruler not too powerful for the safety of their liberties.

Immediately on the fall of Charles, the states of Upper Burgundy endeavored, through the agency of delegates, at the head of whom stood the archbishop of Besançon, to establish for themselves either a sort of independence, or a league on equal terms with the Swiss. The Bernese alone perceived advantage to the confederation in accepting the alliance of these districts; the other cantons preferred receiving 100,000 Rhenish guilders, in consideration of granting a treaty of peace, and leaving the land to its own disposal. They argued that a ransom would be shared amongst them equally, while a distant domain or alliance would advantage none but the towns. In the midst of these discussions, French troops took possession of the district in the name of their master, as feudal sovereign. Terms of peace were at length arranged between Louis and Maximilian, on condition of France ceding Upper Burgundy. Convinced of the importance of cajoling the Helvetic body, Louis granted extraordinary privileges to Swiss settlers in France; and not only gave high appointments to those in his actual service, but, moreover, retained numbers in his permanent pay, and dazzled the eyes of the multitude effectually, by sending mule-loads of gold to glut the avarice of his Swiss allies.

CHAPTER X.

ERA OF THE COVENANT OF STANTZ.

1477—1481.

Effects of the Burgundian War on Switzerland.—Increase of Crime.—Feud of Uri with Milan.—Battle of Giornico.—Claims of Soleure and Freyburg.—Dissensions.—Nicolas of the Flue.—Covenant of Stantz.—Survey of the State of the Helvetic Body up to this Period.

THE death of the duke of Burgundy, which excited such surprise among the members of his house, and in his more remote provinces, that for the space of several weeks they disbelieved the intelligence, changed at a blow the whole relations of southern and central Europe. The renown of Swiss bravery rose higher than ever; since, in collision with it, that mighty power was broken, in the presence of which the greatest kings had trembled. But their glory was too dearly bought by deep-pervading evils: Swiss valor became from thenceforwards a marketable commodity, the value of which had effects

the most destructive to a free state. Foreigners came to purchase adherents among them: the influence and the gold of France, of Austria, of the papacy, of Milan, and of other powers, bore every thing down before them in the diets, in the council-chambers, and general assemblies. The uncorrupt defenders of their country's cause, where any such were still to be found, were derided or defamed by party leaders; the sober republican spirit disappeared almost entirely; obedience ceased to be rendered to ill-regulated authorities, which themselves transgressed their own laws and limits. The sudden wealth diffused by plunder and pensions excited its possessors to profusion and extravagance; while amongst others it inflamed the desire of procuring themselves, at any price, the means for the like indulgences. Love of labor was too often superseded by the taste for a loose, rapacious, idle life; domestic virtues became rare; immorality made public progress. Disbanded soldiers, and idle vagabonds of every other description, threatened the public security to such a degree, that a diet, held in 1480, decreed the punishment of death to all thefts and robberies, the amount of which would pay for a rope. Accordingly in a very few months, 1500 wretches were dispatched by the hand of the public executioner, although the dean of Einsiedlen Bonstetten gives the number of Swiss at that time capable of bearing arms no higher than between fifty and sixty thousand. A surprising state of security for a short time followed these rigors; but similar causes soon reproduced similar effects.

Since the powerful duke of Burgundy, in his first collision with Swiss valor, had lost his treasures; in the second, the flower of his army; and in the third, his life, no enemy seemed any longer formidable: there was, accordingly, no end of provocations to war on the part of the Swiss.

Some timber had been felled by subjects of Milan, in a wood of the Val Levantina belonging to Uri; whereupon the youth of that canton instantly crossed the St. Gothard, and retaliated by robbery and ill treatment of the Milanese subjects in the neighboring villages. Uri, instead of inflicting condign chastisement on these young people, took them under her protection, proclaimed war on the Milanese, and applied for aid to the rest of the confederates. The latter saw the injustice of the proceeding, endeavored to mediate, but at the same time were not willing to desert Uri in this emergency; they therefore dispatched troops to act according to the circumstances.

On this the duke of Milan sent considerable forces, under the command of count Borelli, up the Ticino. At the village of Giorcino lay the Swiss vanguard, consisting only of 600 men from Uri, Lucerne, Schwytz, and Zurich; the other con-

federates, nearly 10,000 strong, were as yet far behind. Borelli marched upon Giornico with a picked body of troops. It was mid-winter. The Swiss flooded the meadows in their front from the Ticino, and the surface freezing rapidly, they accou-tred themselves with *skates*. As the Milanese cavalry and infantry advanced over the slippery field with difficulty, they were met by the Swiss, who sallied forth from Giornico firm on their feet; and, few as they were, were more than a match for the staggering ranks of the numerous enemy. Frischbans Theilig, the leader of Lucerne, was, with his good sword, the angel of death to the Milanese; 15,000 of whom fled panic-struck from 600 Swiss. This almost incredible victory spread the fame of the Swiss through all Italy: Milan purchased peace, paid indemnities, and consented that Uri should retain in fee for ever the Val Levantina and the Val Bruggiasco, on the tenure of paying annually a waxen taper three pounds in weight to the cathedral of Milan.

The results of the Burgundian war were very prejudicial to the internal connexion of the cantons, and gave a powerful shock to their already imperfect union. Besides the jealousy entertained towards Berne by all the others, the rural cantons cherished a distrust of the towns: it seemed to them that the latter maintained a better understanding with Freyburg and Soleure than with them, and they complained of being postponed in consideration and in influence. It could not be concealed from them what enormous sums had flowed into the towns from foreign sources: not less were they dissatisfied with the unequal division of plunder.

The towns of Soleure and Freyburg had stood stoutly by the confederates in most of their wars, especially in the late war against Burgundy: Berne took pains to procure their admission into the confederacy. On the other hand, the people of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, offered strenuous resistance to the measure: they feared lest the towns, which far surpassed them in mental cultivation, might in time become exclusive lords ascendant in the confederacy. This jealousy induced them to resist the augmentation of the number of the leading towns in the league. On the other hand, the towns cherished suspicions of another kind with regard to the free rural population. It was suspected that the people of the small cantons aimed at establishing *equal freedom in all Switzerland*; and thus seducing the subjects of the towns to throw off the dominion of the burghers, and erect an administration of rural communes. This was a consummation not devoutly wished by the citizens: they had acquired their subjects by purchase or by conquest, and were determined to preserve what they called their rights over them.

Thus arose reciprocal distrust in the confederacy; and, unfortunately, chance confirmed the suspicions of the burghers. Peter of Halden, a stout old soldier, had reasons of his own (besides those which he professed to partake with the public) for discontent with the landvogt of Entlibuch, and the lords of council at Lucerne. He and his kinsman, the ex-landamman Heinrich, burgher of Obwalden, and his brother-in-law Kühnegger, were occasionally apt to wax warm in their cups on the subject of their country's degradation: they spirited each other up at length to adventure a bold stroke in the town on St. Leonard's day. The men of Obwalden were to attend the feast in numbers: the avoyer, the council, and the rest of their opponents, were to be summarily dispatched, and the fortifications pulled down. Lucerne was to be hereafter a petty village, and Entlibuch a free state. Such were the high-reaching views of the conclave. Unluckily the burghers of Lucerne became acquainted with them, as Peter had betrayed himself in his pot-valiance: he was arrested, confessed all, and was condemned to decapitation.

About the time of this insurrectionary episode, the confederates were holding a diet at Stantz, in the canton of Unterwalden: it was there that distrust and anger broke out openly amongst the cantons on the subject of division of the Burgundian booty, admission of the towns, &c. &c. The three democratic cantons uttered such threats against the towns, while the towns were so exasperated against the rural cantons, that the delegates of Soleure and Freyburg voluntarily and modestly refrained from the enforcement of their claims; and nothing less than an instant appeal to arms, and the total dissolution of the confederacy, appeared impending.

A pious hermit, Nicolas of the Flue, had lived in solitude many years in the district of Obwalden, absorbed in prayer and in holy contemplation. He was revered in the whole land on account of his devotion. It was said, that he had lived for many years without food, except his monthly partaking of the sacrament. He slept in a narrow cell upon hard boards, with a stone for his pillow; while his wife, who had brought him ten children, lived on their lands in the neighboring valley. He had formerly served his country in the war of the Thurgau, with a high reputation for courage and humanity.

When this venerable man was made acquainted with the discord which prevailed among the confederates, he instantly left the hermitage for Stantz, and entered the hall where the diet was assembled. All rose from their seats to greet so unexpected an apparition. The solitary addressed the assembly with the dignity of a messenger from heaven, and admonished

them to maintain peace and concord, in the name of that God who had given so many victories to themselves, and to their fathers before them. "You have become strong (he said) by the force of union, and now will you sever that union for the sake of a wretched booty? Far be it that surrounding lands should ever hear such things of you. Let not the towns insist on claims injurious to the old confederates. Let the country places remember how Soleure and Freyburg fought at their sides, and freely receive them into the confederacy. Beware of foreign intrigues, confederates! beware of internal discords! Far be it from any to take gold as the price of their father-land!"

"It is seldom," says an intelligent Swiss historian,* "that truth comes off victorious in the conflict of passion, unless its asserter stand out as a being of other mould from his hearers. If he seems but a man like the men around him, his words will be little heeded." The solitary's strange and solemn warning found responsive chords in the hearts of the whole auditory. In a single hour the affairs at issue were settled. Freyburg and Soleure were received into the confederacy. The proposal of the venerable Nicolas, that territorial conquests in war should be shared according to cantons, but all other spoil, according to population, was acceded to. It was also resolved that no one, without permission of the authorities, should assemble popular meetings, or make dangerous propositions. If the people of any canton offered resistance to their legal authorities, the rest of the confederates should combine to bring them back to obedience.

The covenant of Stantz, under which title the decisions of this diet have come down to us, is remarkable as the first solemn occasion on which the cantons collectively fixed and defined their federal constitution. It therefore presents a fitting opportunity to pause in our narrative, in order to take a review of the Helvetic body up to this period, in its principal points of political, social, and military development.

The original idea of the confederation was that of a family, in which all possessed an equality of rights. Places of honor were given but for a short term: the burgomaster or avoyer (the highest rank in towns) might one year preside in the Helvetic diet, and vanish the next in the crowd of burghers, or sit as a common member of council. The whole body of burghers was assembled to name public officers, decide upon war and peace, and enact laws. It was, however, in the rural cantons only that this practice continued to exist. The increasing population, wars, and treaties of the towns, rendered

* Ludwig Meyer of Knonau.

the constant convocation of the body of burghers impossible, who, therefore, elected delegates to the councils; without, however, yielding the rights of sovereignty in the last resort.

The mode of procedure in all transactions was simple. If any thing seemed too weighty for the little council, the great one was convoked, which consisted of numerous popular delegates. In cases of dispute about the *meum* and *tuum*, or in which the honor or property of a burgher came in question, the judges (commonly members of council) sat in the open air on the highway. The accused and accuser could speak for themselves, or choose advocates from amongst the judges. In cases unprovided for by the laws, the court decided either according to precedent, or on principles of equity. All severities inflicted upon criminals were regarded as allowable and salutary. Torture was in general use; and any one would have been ridiculed who expressed a fear lest innocence might suffer. The pain of death was enhanced by all imaginable torments; such as nipping the flesh with red-hot pincers, trailing at the tail of a horse, or breaking on the wheel, as gentle preludes, or substitutes, to death by the means of fire, sword, or rope. Blasphemy, murder, robbery, and theft, were punished capitally: lesser offences with banishment, branding, slitting of ears, &c.

For security against attacks, whether from within or without, the several cantons joined themselves in a federal league, which regulated their relations to each other, and the amount of contribution incumbent on each for the common defence. The *Pfaffenbrief*, and that of Sempach, mention of which has already been made, were the only records of this league since the period of its first formation. The provisions made by the latter of these documents were ratified and extended by the covenant of Stantz. These regulations, prompted by the circumstances in which they were made, were intended to direct the efforts of all to one end, to limit the sphere of selfishness, and to curb reckless licentiousness. They might, perhaps, have answered their purpose, had simplicity and sincerity continued to be cherished in Switzerland, while the old confusion still prevailed throughout the rest of Europe; but they proved too weak against the inroads of moral corruption in the interior, and the general advance of civilization in other countries.

The confederates still did homage to the emperor as their liege lord; but held themselves bound to little else than not to bear arms against him, and to obtain from him, as matter of form, the sanction of their liberties. Common interests were consulted upon at the diets of the confederation. The presiding canton, or any other in cases of emergency, called to-

gether the delegates of the rest of the Helvetic body, though it was not very clearly defined to whom belonged the right of sitting and voting. The inequality of rights amongst the confederates had an injurious effect on their deliberations, by keeping up a constant disposition to distrust and envy, and disadvantageous above all was the condition of the free bailiwicks.

The military skill of the confederates stood in the highest repute during the infancy of the art of war in Europe. Levies of men were made in the towns by guilds, in the country by communes and bailiwicks. Exceptions from service were rare, and only allowed on condition of finding substitutes: those who were unable to provide themselves with arms and food were supplied at the expense of their communes. The principal weapons were spears, halberds, arquebuses, and crossbows. In addition to these, battle-axes and swords were considered necessary: knives and daggers came by degrees into use. The body was sheathed in armor; the head was covered with a helmet, or a strong felt hat, adorned with a cock's or ostrich feather. A white cross, stitched on several parts of the clothing, served as a badge, for which a key of the same color was substituted in later times. The confederates had become familiar, not only with the use of guns, but also with that of pieces of heavy artillery. Their cavalry, such as it was, was formed by noblemen and church vassals.

The warriors of each canton, however scanty their number, took the field under a leader of their own, who, as well as the *Venner* (banner-bearer or banneret) was chosen by the government. The election of captains was trusted to the communes; twenty or thirty men formed a troop. The highest authority, after that of the general and banneret, was enjoyed by the committees of the council and burghers, who formed the council of war with the above-mentioned officers. All matters of consequence were laid before the assembled troops, by whom the question of peace or war was often, in fact, decided, and who considered themselves invested with a power at least co-ordinate with that of the council and commonalty at home. The most express orders of the civil authorities often received the following laconic reply: "That a contrary decision had been formed by a majority of votes in the army."

A declaration of hostilities preceded the invasion of an enemy's territory. The Swiss held it dishonorable to assail any one without having given him notice of their intentions; they knew not, or despised, the feints and manœuvres adapted to mislead the foe, or force him to give battle. Their troops were drawn up for action in close column, or in solid squares; after several ranks of spearmen came halberdiers; then again

spearmen; in front or in flank arquebusiers; in the centre were the banner and standard bearers. (It may here be observed, that the banner of a canton had more importance attached to it than an ordinary flag, which indeed might be inferred from the high rank in the army which, as we have already said, was held by its guardian). The troops were exhorted to valor by their officers in the presence of the enemy, and then, having invoked on their knees, with outstretched arms, the aid of the Deity, they rushed with alternate animating cries upon the hostile ranks.

No prisoners were allowed to be made; none were allowed to retreat though wounded; each was ready to cut down his comrade, rather than see him take to flight. The Swiss regarded wounds and death so little, and obeyed the word of command with such precision, that the close mass of their combatants was moved with the utmost facility, sometimes forming a wedge, sometimes contracting, sometimes extending their lines. The Swiss did not distinguish themselves in the siege of fortified places. If they failed in the first onset, their zeal cooled with marvellous suddenness. They were better skilled to provide for the defence of their native country. For that end they collected munitions of war of all descriptions, barred the passes, announced the approach of the foe by beacons, shots, and alarums, and gathered all who could move so much as a stick on the point of danger.

The occupation most congenial to the temper of the free Swiss, next to that of a soldier, was that of a shepherd. In the pure air of their mountains, with their easy charge of cattle, the longest summer day seemed to pass rapidly. The more arduous toils of husbandry were comparatively neglected, no branch of trade or manufactures acquired leading importance, and the insecurity of the roads created serious impediments to the transport of commodities through Switzerland from Venice and elsewhere.

Though no description of privilege was acknowledged, yet a difference of ranks came to prevail. Those nobles who had settled in the towns, and who had sacrificed some advantages in order to secure the rest, maintained in many respects a higher footing than the burghers. Some were in possession of riches, others of experience and knowledge of mankind, all had been from youth upwards accustomed to the use of weapons. Beside this old nobility, a new sprung up. Men who had enjoyed a high reputation on account of their wealth, abilities, or achievements, bequeathed consideration to their offspring. Their very name awakened advantageous reminiscences; their descendants were chosen willingly by the people for its leaders, and had various means of maintaining and

augmenting their wealth and influence. On the other hand, in families of an humbler grade, husbandry, the life of a shepherd, or some mechanical craft, descended from generation to generation. But the different ranks were separated by no impassable chasm: the knight of the empire did not shrink from mixing his blood with that of the burghers, and hardly aimed at higher polish of manners. If instances of collision sometimes occurred, they were seldom dangerous: the assumptions of the nobles were met not only with serious checks, but with coarse and homely ridicule,—the most formidable of all weapons in a state of society stamped by familiarity and openness. The homely monosyllables *thee* and *thou* remained in general use, and were even employed by governments in their missives to their functionaries. The burghers expressed their opinions freely on all affairs of a public nature; and the highest members of government might be seen at their doors on fine evenings, exchanging greetings with all who passed, hearing complaints, and imparting counsel.

But these traces of an earlier era disappeared by degrees. Simplicity, sincerity, a sense of honor, and love of country, daily became of more and more rare occurrence, until at length the all-engrossing thirst for gold left no room for any other feeling. Indulgences were relinquished with reluctance, to which the Swiss warrior had accustomed himself in the course of his campaigns: remembrance of past jollities, and disgust at present privations, rendered his heart of easy access to temptation. What could inspire those with dread, who feared neither death nor wounds—who valued protracted existence little, and only lived for the moment? War was their watchword; war afforded full swing to their appetites; and decay of domestic happiness, neglect of education, in short, universal disorder came in its train.

Those warriors who would while away the interval between one campaign and another agreeably betook themselves to Baden in Aargau. Here in a narrow valley, where the Limmat flows through its rocky bed, are hot springs of highly medicinal properties. Hither, to the numerous houses of public entertainment, resorted prelates, abbots, monks, nuns, soldiers, statesmen, and all sorts of artificers. As in our fashionable watering-places, most of the visitors merely sought to dissipate ennui, enjoy life, and pursue pleasure. The baths were most crowded at an early hour in the morning, and those who did not bathe resorted thither to see acquaintances, with whom they could hold conversation from the galleries round the bath-rooms, while the bathers played at various games, or ate from floating tables. Lovely females did not disdain to sue for alms from the gallery-loungers, who threw down coins

of small amount to enjoy the ensuing scramble. Flowers were strewn on the surface of the water, and the vaulted roof rang with music, vocal and instrumental. Towards noon the company sallied forth to the meadows in the neighborhood, acquaintances were easily made, and strangers soon became familiar. The pleasures of the table were followed by jovial pledges in swift succession, till fife and drum summoned to the dance. Now fell the last barriers of reserve and decorum; and it is time to drop a veil over the scene.

But what horror seized the dissolute crowd when intelligence suddenly reached them that the plague was spreading its ravages over the land! Instant flight to the farthest mountain-recesses hardly baffled contagion; youth and strength afforded no security; even love and friendship yielded to the universal panic, and the sick were left to die without consolation or attendance. The wrath of God was traced in this visitation; the churches filled with penitent and penance-performing sinners, and pilgrimages were made with all contrition and humility. Yet scarcely had the scourge ceased to be felt, when the old mode of life was resumed as eagerly as ever.

Notwithstanding the foregoing statements, Switzerland was perhaps less degraded than the other states of Europe; where the princes carried on warfare at discretion, overran the lands which they conquered, plundered the owners, and fired their dwellings; while even in peace the insecure state of the roads impeded intercourse. In most other states, the habits of the soldiers, chiefs, and clergy, were even more immoral than in Switzerland: public functions were venal; inhumanity was encouraged by the cruel inflictions visited upon criminals; and even palaces were disgraced by the most disgusting want of cleanliness.

CHAPTER XL

LEAGUE OF ST. GEORGE, AND SWABIAN WAR.

1489—1501.

Administration, Arrest, and Death of Hans Waldmann at Zurich.—Compromise between the Burghers and Peasantry.—Petticoat League.—Diet at Worms.—French Intrigues and Influence on the Helvetic body.—Carelessness of the latter with regard to Papal Bulls and the person of the Emperor.—Altercations with the Imperialists.—Commencement of the Swabian War.—Successes of the Swiss and the Grisons.—Emperor Maximilian enters the Engadines.—Retreats into the Tyrol.—Treaty of Peace.—Reception of Basle and Schaffhausen into Alliance with the confederacy.

THE transient restoration of concord could not restore the primitive moral habits of the people. Rapacity and ostentation flourished in the towns, corruption in all seats of civic author-

ity, immorality and idleness in the people. Young men often marched in troops of hundreds and of thousands, headed by bands of music, over the Alps, to follow royal standards in quest of booty or a grave. Nor was there any lack of fuel for their ardor. In one year, on the side of Italy, four wars were raging. Internal strife and uproar soon recommenced. The noble lords and priests of Zurich, who hated Waldmann the burgomaster, because he sought to impose bounds on their arrogance, inflamed the town and country people against him by their discourses. Hans Waldmann was the son of a peasant of Zug, and had come to Zurich first in the humble character of a tanner, had distinguished himself at Morat and at Nancy, and had at last attained to eminence by sheer force of courage and intellect. But it was now whispered against him, that he favored Milan and Austria; and the Zurichers accused him of abuse of power through pride and passion. The burgomaster gave himself no concern about secret murmurs; and woe to those who dared to speak or act against him openly! When Theilig of Lucerne, the hero of Giornico, who had offended him, came into Zurich, bringing bales of cloth for sale, the burgomaster caused him to be taken into custody and beheaded, though his native town made urgent solicitations for the life of her illustrious citizen.

Such tyranny, notwithstanding his great qualities, brought universal hatred, and at length ruin, on Waldmann. His enemies took advantage of the tumults of the peasantry, and a revolt of the rural communes on the lake of Zurich. The country people advanced in arms up to the walls of the town, complaining of the injustice of the laws, and of their grievances. Delegates from the other cantons offered their mediation, and at length a proclamation was agreed upon by the council, that the complaints of the communes should be investigated, and satisfaction given to the people. But Waldmann, who thought fit to regard the honor of the town as being compromised by such a declaration, caused the town-clerk to alter parts of the wording, as if the country people had only alleged *supposed* grievances, and only obtained thus much by their humble supplications, that those grievances should be looked into on the first fit opportunity.

As soon as the falsification of this document became known, a new revolt took place against the town, which, moreover, was disturbed in its interior. The burgomaster no longer went out without armor, and usually slept at the town-hall. Authority is tottering when it protects itself by any other panoply than the popular attachment. The burgomaster Waldmann was tumultuously arrested, put to the torture, and finally decapitated, on the 6th of April, 1489.

On the day of his death, the subjects and authorities of Zurich presented themselves as parties before the bar of the confederacy, who brought about a permanent agreement between them. It was enjoined upon the peasantry, in the first place, to be faithful and obedient to the great council of Zurich. On the other hand, the privilege was granted them of bringing their commodities to what market they pleased, of exporting them wherever they chose, of exercising arts and trades in the villages, planting vines and purchasing lands at pleasure, electing a sub-vogt in the lake-district, &c. If at any time the town attempted to exercise a lawless power on their subjects in the rural communes, the latter should send delegates to the diet of the confederacy, that justice might be done to their complaints. This instrument was signed on the 9th of May, 1489, for the seven cantons of the confederacy, by their delegates.

New matter of mistrust occurred to revive the old ill-will subsisting between the confederates and Austria, on the refusal of the former to join the new league of St. George, otherwise called the Swabian, and, derisively, the Petticoat League, from a sort of kilt at that time worn by the nobles, which, at a later period, came into general use amongst the people, and was called a *jupe*, or petticoat, in the sumptuary laws of Thurgau, dated 1530. To this league the princes, counts, and knights of the empire, and the towns of the Franconian, Swabian, and Rhenish circles, acceded, partly of free will, partly on compulsion. Its ostensible object was to put an end to the still existing system of club-law, and the prevalent abuses of the right of self-defence. Its secondary and secret intent was to overawe the Bavarian dukes, and other turbulent members of the empire, who made themselves obnoxious by opposing the will of the emperor, or disturbing the tranquillity of their neighbors. The confederates, who clearly saw that a league of this description threatened themselves as well as others with subjection, declined all accession to the compact. These considerations, however, did not prevent most of the free imperial towns and trading corporations from joining the new project of alliance, which held out hopes of increased security for trade and communication. They stigmatized those who refused concurrence as partisans of anarchy. "So frequently," says an eloquent Swiss annalist, "does the love of freedom yield to the love of profit!"

The grand diet of 1495, at Worms, where Maximilian called for the aid of the empire against France and the Turks, where private feuds were prohibited under pain of the ban of the empire, and the court of the Imperial Chamber erected for the general administration of justice, was attended, indeed, by

delegates from Switzerland ; but the proposal of taking 6000 Swiss into the pay of the empire was without effect. So were not the largesses and intrigues of Bailli of Dijon, the indefatigable French agent in Switzerland. This man, who was familiarly nicknamed *the Baillie*, explicitly declared to the Bernese delegates, that if his purposes were thwarted by the few, he should know how to effect them through the many. To such a pitch may things come, in a country where once foreign influence is permitted to establish itself. More than 20,000 Swiss were soon under arms for France in Lombardy. Berne was so completely forced to temporize with the French party, that she sent envoys to welcome the troops returning from that service, depressed as they were by the losses they had suffered, and disfigured by the loathsome aspect of many among their number, who returned from Naples infected with a formidable malady, which was then supposed indigenous in that city, and was naturalized too speedily all over Europe.

Renewed demands of the empire on the confederates, and renewed warnings against the intrigues of France, remained equally ineffectual with all former ones ; though Berne was still devoted to the emperor, and exerted herself vainly to prevent enlistments for France. The pope was now called upon to support the imperial dignity against all who should continue recusant ; but, on mandates being issued by the papal legate at Lindau, which threatened with excommunication all who should refuse to quit the service of France, the confederates replied by simply appealing to a better-informed pope or to a general council. The elector of Mentz, who acted as high-chancellor of the empire, showing his pen to the Swiss delegates, gave them to understand how serious evils that little implement might draw upon their commonwealth. They replied, that what halberds had failed in doing, goose-quills were not likely to do. And when the emperor declared, that he himself, if they should still refuse compliance, would stand foremost against them, Conrad Schwend, the burgomaster of Zurich, returned for answer, "Our people are so ignorant and rustic, that I fear they might not even spare the imperial crown itself."

Though many who had joined the Swabian league were discontented with it, and many feared the loss of that degree of independence which had hitherto been preserved among the members of the empire, yet the number of the foes of the Swiss confederacy increased in a still greater proportion. Many powerful lords retained hereditary aversion to it. Many towns and subjects envied its privileges, and many Germans were scandalized at seeing the confederates continually arrayed against them under the flag of France. Reciprocal abuse

took place on every opportunity. Cow-houses and cow-herds were the delicate appellations most commonly bestowed upon the Swiss and their country. "Spare me, spare me, dear good bull-heads!" cried an unlucky Swabian, when made captive by the Swiss in the ensuing war; and his curious cry for mercy having only procured him worse treatment, he solemnly swore he had never heard any other name applied to the Swiss. Numerous satirical songs enhanced the mutual embitterment.

If the emperor and princes of the empire regarded the confederates as rebels, the latter, on the other hand, appealed to existing treaties; and to much that these might not expressly contain they considered long possession as having given them a prescriptive right. During the absence of the emperor in the Netherlands, his Tyrolese councillors, who distinguished themselves beyond the rest in prompting the most arbitrary measures, resolved to delay hostilities no longer against the Grisons, whom they viewed as the most recent revolters. About the middle of January, 1499, they marched a force of 4000 men into the Munster-thal, on the border of the Engadines. On this, Uri, and soon afterwards the six other cantons, dispatched reinforcements to the Grisons.

Berne still had hopes of preserving peace, and the bishops of Constance and Coire effected an armistice. But a series of provocations from the Austrians soon brought about the commencement of that contest to which history has given the name of the Swabian war, without any declaration of hostilities. Meyenfeld was given up by treachery to the enemy, who massacred the garrison, and occupied the town and the neighboring mountain passes. Even before the reinforcements arrived from the other cantons, the men of the Grisons carried away the honor of the first victory, in which 400 of the enemy were slain: the rest retreated into the castle of Gertenberg.

The enemy marching from Constance had succeeded in surprising the Swiss garrison of Emmatingen in their sleep, and killing seventy-three defenceless men in their beds. But they paid for it severely in the thickets of Schwaderloch, when 18,000 of them were routed by barely 2000 Swiss, so that they found the gates of Constance all too narrow to receive them in their flight, and reckoned a greater number of slain than there had been of Swiss arrayed against them.

A body of Swiss on the Upper Rhine marched into the Wallgau, where the enemy was intrenched near Frastenz, 14,000 strong. Heinrich Wolleb of Uri encouraged his men to disregard these odds against their own comparatively scanty numbers: they rushed under the roar of the artillery on the ranks of Austria, and strewed the plain with thousands of

hostile corpses. The rest of the Austrians, panic-struck, made their escape through wood and water; "for then," says a native historian,* "every Swiss fought as if the victory depended on his single arm: for the glory of his country, every one rushed with cheerful countenance on danger and death, and never counted the numbers of the enemy." The men of the Grisons fought with no less vigor, as was testified on the Malsersheath, in the Tyrol, where 15,000 Austrians were attacked in their intrenchments, and completely routed, by a band of only 8000 men from the Grisons.

When the emperor Maximilian, in the Netherlands, heard of battles upon battles being lost by his armies, he addressed himself to the princes of the empire for aid against the Swiss boors, "in whom there was no virtue, noble blood, or moderation." Eager for revenge, he marched in person at the head of 15,000 men, to attempt once more the subjection of the Grisons. The inhabitants of the Engadines, with noble self-devotion, burned their huts, and retired into the mountains. They annoyed the enemy by rolling fragments of rock on them from the heights; and in two days' time the army was reduced to such a condition, as to be well pleased to effect its retreat back into the Tyrol, although not without considerable loss.

Peace was at length negotiated, and finally concluded, on the 22d of September, 1499. The emperor confirmed the confederates in the possession of their ancient rights and conquests, and ceded to them, besides, the jurisdiction over the Thurgau, which had hitherto been a privilege of the town of Constance. Thenceforward the emperors never again entertained the idea of attempting to dissolve the confederacy, or annexing its domains to the German empire.

"Thus ended," says a Swiss historian, "the last war of the old confederates in the cause of their own freedom and independence. They came out of the struggle in which they had defended their hereditary rights against the empire and the emperor, more renowned, more respectable, than ever. But notwithstanding all the favors of fortune which crowned confederate valor with its well-earned rewards, the period of this war has much matter of distressing meditation for the true friend of his country; who may draw from it too plain prognostications of the following universal tide of corruption."

The reception of the towns of Basle and Schaffhausen into a closer league with the cantons followed immediately on the Swabian war.

Basle, an ancient free town of the empire, distinguished by

* Glutz Blotzheim.

its advantageous site and growing magnitude, the seat of an university, of a bishopric, and an extensive trade, and the market of the whole surrounding region, had long adhered, without any positive compact, to the confederacy, and had often received its friendly aid in cases of emergency. During the Swabian war, the town was torn by intestine divisions. The burghers took the confederate, the nobility the Swabian, side; and both parties, openly and secretly, afforded every service in their power to their respective friends. The confederates hereupon marched into the district of Basle, made threatening demonstrations towards the town, and demanded to know whether they were to look upon its citizens as friends or as enemies. On this the nobles fled, and amused themselves, during their self-inflicted exile, in committing highway robberies on the merchants of their native town. The latter applied for aid to the confederates, who gladly embraced the occasion of forming a closer alliance with Basle, which was formed in 1501, to mutual satisfaction, though with some opposition from the rural population. There never was a more joyous day in Basle than that of her reception into the league of the confederacy. The magistrates rode in solemn procession to meet the Swiss delegates, who entered the town on the festival of its patron saint, the emperor Henry. The procession of the delegates, the council and the burghers, first visited the cathedral, and from thence, after attending the holy office, went to the corn-market. The treaty of alliance was here read from a scaffolding, and reciprocally sworn to by the contracting parties.

The flourishing town of Schaffhausen had been leagued with the confederacy more closely even than Basle since 1454, and had always shown unimpeachable fidelity. Its reasonable desire to become a member of the confederacy was therefore at length gratified in 1501. Thus was the league of the Thirteen Cantons completed nearly two centuries after the deed of William Tell. The Valais and the Grisons were also allied with the confederacy; and the free towns of St. Gall, Mühlhausen, and Rothweil in Swabia, were joined with it in a league of mutual defence.

CHAPTER XII.

ITALIAN EXPEDITIONS.

1490—1522.

Corruption of the Helvetic Body.—**Louis XII.**—**Ludovic Sforza.**—**French occupation of Milan.**—**Claims of the Confederates on the Milanese and Bellinzona.**—**Enlistments of Sforza in Switzerland.**—**Of Louis.**—**Sforza betrayed by the Swiss.**—**Imprisoned by the French for life.**—**Treaty of the Emperor with the Confederacy.**—**Frustrated by French intrigues.**—**League of Cambray.**—**Battle of Agnadello.**—**Character of Schinner, Bishop of Sion.**—**Alliance against the Pope between the French King and the Emperor.**—**Holy League against France.**—**Gaston de Foix.**—**French expelled from Italy by the Pope, Swiss, and Venetians.**—**Duehy of Milan reconquered by the French.**—**Who are defeated by the Swiss at Novara.**—**Expedition of the latter to Dijon.**—**Peace with France.**—**Francis I. invades Piedmont.**—**Battle of Marignano.**—**Perpetual Peace between France and Switzerland.**

AFTER having viewed the Helvetic body in the first and brightest epoch of its freedom, then engaged in civil and intestine commotions, afterwards exalted to the pinnacle of martial glory, and finally triumphant in its latest struggle for independence, we have now to regard its members in a state of rapid decay, selling their victorious arms by auction to the highest bidder, and shamefully staining their former fame for constancy and honor. It is impossible to trace without a feeling of repugnance the relations, whether foreign or domestic, in which Switzerland was engaged during a period which, in spite of martial achievements, must be deemed the most deplorable and disgraceful of her history. Neither honorable connexions with foreign powers, nor salutary arrangements in the interior, will henceforth yield the materials of our narrative. It became the only object of state policy in Switzerland to drive a lucrative traffic with the blood of its inhabitants; and though the article must be acknowledged to have fetched a high price, it is not the less a scandalous blot in the history of the country, that so vile a trade should so long have remained the only one pursued with any energy by the people and its leaders. It is true, that the Helvetic seats of government were surrounded with more outward splendor than ever. Ambassadors crowded thither from the emperor, from the pope, and from many other monarchs, princes, nobles, and free towns, soliciting, with emulous zeal, their friendship and alliance, and bidding against each other for the iron arm of Switzerland, by offers of absolution, special privileges, rich presents, large pensions, and high pay.

This state of things, which was looked upon by the many as the very acmé of glory and prosperity, a few regarded, on better grounds, as pregnant with the worst evils; for even a

superficial view was enough to reveal the misery which was ill disguised by tinsel decorations. The social mischiefs generated by foreign bribes and foreign service were so obvious, even at the very times we are treating of, that the governments of the cantons were compelled, however reluctantly, to issue repeated prohibitions of pensions and enlistments, and to threaten severe penalties against the transgressors. Unfortunately, however, for the effect of these regulations, while the members of successive diets raised their right hands in solemn abjuration of the receipt of foreign pensions, the left palm was secretly extended to receive them. This melancholy period is delineated as follows in the energetic language of old Bullinger:—"In these times it stood ill with the confederates, whom many princes and lords solicited secretly and openly, proffering and promising moneys, and misleading simple people who had heretofore known little of such dealings. Moreover, the confederates were divided amongst themselves,—some being for the papacy, some for France, and some for the empire,—whereby the old simplicity and brotherly love were extinguished, and the bond of the confederacy loosened. A lewd and wanton life was commonly practised, with gluttony, gaming, dancing, and all manner of wantonness, day and night, especially where diets were held, as at Zurich, Lucerne, and Baden. The common people in town and country were drawn away from honest labor to idleness, lewdness, and warlike undertakings,—and reckless and abandoned habits thus prevailed everywhere."

The king of France, Louis XII., and the duke of Milan, Ludovic Sforza, surnamed Moro, or the Moor, from his dark complexion, had co-operated zealously in mediating peace between the confederates and the emperor; not that either of them cared for the welfare of Switzerland, but because they both stood in need of the stout arms of the Swiss to combat with each other for Milan, which the latter ruled *de facto*, while the former set up claims to it. This was the second enterprise prepared by France against Italy; but it differed from the former, undertaken by Charles VIII., in being primarily directed against Sforza (the very man whose alliance had principally occasioned the Italian expedition of that monarch), and in pointing against that former friend of France the arms of Italian powers which till then had ranked with her enemies.* An alliance had been formed against Sforza between the pope, the king of France, and the republic of Venice, which made his position one of extreme danger, and compelled him to take every means for procuring the aid of Switzerland,

* See Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* vol. xiii. c. 99.

which seemed to afford his only hope of rescue. The confederates long hesitated which side they should choose. The voice of reason, urging to remain neutral, was heard in vain. The majority maintained that the Swiss, the resources of whose territory did not suffice to nourish all its offspring, must of necessity seek foreign sources of revenue. These were alone to be found in foreign alliances; and the only point for careful consideration was from what quarter the greatest amount of profit was to be looked for. Duke Sforza had already found the gold of France an obstacle in the attainment of his views on the confederates, and its magnetic influence once again attracted the majority. Moreover Sforza, in 1496, had refused recognition of the privileges acquired by the confederates in the Milanese, and when the Swabian war broke out had assumed a hostile attitude towards them. All this had very naturally estranged them from his interests, and tended to frustrate his latter attempts to engage them in his alliance. Louis, on the other hand, spared neither gold nor promises, closed a defensive alliance with them, aided them in the Swabian war, and thus acquired the attachment of the great mass of the people. Both princes commenced active preparations for hostilities. No prohibitions, not even the threat of capital punishment, could deter Swiss soldiers from deserting their country's service, and from going over to that of France or Milan, even before the conclusion of peace between Switzerland and the emperor.

Sforza's situation became more and more critical. How, indeed, could he enter the lists, with any hope of success, against the power of France and of her warlike allies? He therefore hastened anxiously to co-operate in the conclusion of peace between Austria and the confederates, in order to conciliate the latter by his good offices, and acquire claims on their subsequent assistance. But even before the close of that peace, Milan was in the hands of France by the aid of a large body of Swiss troops, who had engaged in the French service in defiance of their governments. Sforza, who was detested by his subjects, found himself abandoned by all on the approach of the French army, and only succeeded with difficulty in placing himself and his treasures in safety, under the protection of the emperor. In August, 1499, the French were in possession of the whole duchy excepting the Valteline.

The confederates, on receiving the intelligence of these events from Louis XII., immediately resolved to prohibit all engagements in the service of Sforza, to send the king an embassy of congratulation, to demand the restoration of their rights over the Milanese, as well as the town and domain of Bellinzona for Uri, and to recall to recollection the remaining

arrears in the subsidies. The confederates received friendly treatment and royal largesses, but their claims were only answered with empty words. This, with the indifferent treatment bestowed on the Swiss soldiers, alienated numbers from France. Sforza gladly seized the opportunity of winning the confederates back to his interests. The diet showed itself now disposed to listen to his proposals; but even before he had time to make them, 5000 Swiss had joined his standards, consisting principally of those who had been ill treated by France. The duke advanced rapidly upon Como, with these and other troops from the Valais. The French had rendered the people of Milan averse to them by their arrogance and utter contempt of discipline, and had reduced that people to long for the return of their old master, whom they now found infinite reasons for preferring to their new one. Popular revolts prepared the restoration of Sforza. With the exception of a few fortified places, he reconquered his whole duchy not less rapidly than he had lost it. He was welcomed back with joyous acclamations into his capital; reinforced his army, and advanced upon Novara, which surrendered, with the exception of the citadel.

It was not before Sforza had succeeded in regaining the good-will of the confederates, that Louis was aware of the impending danger. He demanded instant aid and reinforcements from the confederation. These were promised, on condition that the subsidies in arrear were paid, and that all legitimate claims of the confederates were conceded. The envoys of Milan and Austria co-operated with admirable skill against France. Sforza in the mean time had reconquered Milan. In these circumstances, Bailli of Dijon, whose merits have already been alluded to as a member of the French embassy, employed the only infallible expedient to arm the Swiss in the interests of France. He travelled from one place to another; distributed gold in handfuls; did not hesitate to gratify the most impudent demands; and by these methods, with or without consent of the cantonal governments, he had soon levied a force of 24,000 Swiss. Freyburg was selected for the place of rendezvous. The troops were soon in motion for Italy, joined the French army, marched upon Novara, and for the first time, Swiss stood against Swiss in the pay of foreigners.

The news of the advance of this army had reached Sforza; but relying on the promises of the diet, he refused to believe it, and rejected the advice of his more clear-sighted Swiss officers to fall back upon Milan, where men and money, provisions, fortifications, in a word, all the requisites for withstanding the French, lay at his disposal. In the mean time, a diet at Lucerne decided that the Swiss engaged on both sides should be

ordered home, and resolved, besides, to offer its mediation to the belligerent powers; but all was already decided before the arrival of its delegates. The overwhelming force of France had shut up the duke in Novara; and the castle was, moreover, in their hands. These material advantages were, besides, aided by treachery. The Swiss officers on both sides came to a secret understanding. Many deserted from the duke; a few, perhaps, prompted by indisposition to fight against their countrymen, but most from a more tender care for their gold and for their booty. Those who remained clamored for their pay, raised disturbances, and threatened to disband and return to their homes. The duke was in a manner constrained to a vigorous resolution by the greatness and the imminence of his danger. He resolved to cut his way through the besieging force to Milan; marched his troops out, and charged with his cavalry. At this critical moment, the Swiss in his service wheeled round, declaring that they would not fight against their countrymen in the French army. This movement decided the fate of Sforza. The Swiss, without his consent or knowledge, treated with the French, and stipulated free egress for all except the duke and several Milanese nobles. The only point they yielded to the entreaties of their betrayed employer was the permission to accompany their march in disguise. He joined their ranks accordingly in the garb of a common soldier, or by the account of some authors,* of a Cordelier monk, but was betrayed by Rudolph Turmann, a native of Uri, and languished out the remainder of his days in a French dungeon. His mercenary Swiss, on their return to their country, were received as the reports which preceded them well warranted: not only had they entered foreign service at a moment when their country was endangered by a war not yet concluded, but they had taken gold from both sides at once, had deserted from the one to the other, and had robbed foreign merchants within the peaceful borders of Switzerland. Strict investigation and severe animadversion were enjoined by the diet on the several cantons. Some of the delinquents in effect were punished; but illicit enlistments were too closely connected with the pensions and emoluments of leading men, to allow that results of any great consequence should ensue. Rudolph Turmann, whose offence was at least one of the most flagrant, was executed at Uri by way of atonement for the common guilt.

The Swiss reputation for valor and rapacity had become diffused so widely by their mercenary victories, that their services were sure to be solicited wherever martial work was on

* *Mémoires de Louis de La Tremouille*, cited by Sismondi, *Hist. des Rep. Italiennes*, tom. xiii. p. 64.

hand; but all other demands were disregarded, so soon as the rival powers of France and Austria entered the field. France, indeed, had played them false on many former occasions, yet France continued still the general favorite, through her well-timed liberality in pecuniary largesses. On the other hand, the recent reminiscences of the Swabian war had revived the old distrust against Austria; yet the emperor, too, had many friends in Switzerland, whom he partly owed to political considerations, and partly to the slights and affronts of France. In 1501 the rival potentates took the field against each other; and both renewed their active applications to the confederates. Maximilian claimed their escort, as members of the holy Roman empire, in his coronation-progress to Rome, and justified the Italian nickname bestowed on him of *Massimiliano pochi denari*, by humbling himself so far as to offer mortgages of part of his land as securities for the pensions which he promised them. This roused the competition of the French, who were secure of winning the day with Swiss cupidity, as the envoys of Maximilian could only plead their cause in words and writings, while those of France employed the stronger rhetoric of ready money. In November, 1505, the existing prohibitions against pensions were repealed; and the council and burghers of Berne were released, on the authority of the bishop of Lausanne, from the obligation of the oaths which they had taken on that subject. Nor did the diets affect much longer hesitation, when Louis desired leave to levy 4000 men under the titles of a body-guard and guard of honor. The labor-loathing youth of the cantons flocked in numbers to meet the summons: 8000 were enlisted by the French,—many rejected. It was not until the actual march of the troops that the affair seemed to inspire the diet with scruples. The new recruits were accordingly ordered not to cross the Po. But the French dollars spoke to their apprehensions more conclusively than any declaration of the diet: they crossed the Po; assisted in the conquest of Genoa, and were shortly after dismissed by the king with abundance of pay and flattery. Louis returned triumphantly through Milan into France.

Maximilian was divided between anger and apprehension, when he found that the confederates had attached themselves to his enemy. Yet he did not despair of ultimate success in his designs. He convoked a solemn diet at Constance in 1507, at which delegates from Switzerland attended, and were received with high honors and rich presents. They acceded to the decisions of the diet, and promised to escort the emperor's Roman expedition with a body of 6000 men; providing only that nothing should be undertaken hostile to France. Maximilian exhausted his store of flatteries and favors to secure the

duration of these good dispositions. On the return of the Swiss delegates from Constance, the cantons confirmed the treaty with the emperor; but French intrigues soon changed the aspect of affairs. The French ambassador, Rocquebertin, kept open house in Zurich, and was friendly and accessible to all comers. In Baden, where crowds of military adventurers and easy fair ones assembled, rather for pleasure than for health, he often paid the score for whole parties, and threw gold into the baths, and among the women. His colleague, Pierre-Louis, acted the same part at Lucerne as he had done at Zurich and Baden. The effects of this expenditure were to render the confederates more and more lukewarm in the service of the emperor; and every successive meeting of the diet subtracted from the number of the promised escort. The disposition to fulfil their recent engagements had entirely disappeared in most places; but Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, still offered their services, and promised to send 8000 men to support the imperial army. Parties became more and more heated, and threatened to produce a civil war. It came under discussion at the diet by what means this calamity could be averted; and several of the cantonal governments found themselves compelled to make regulations against the proceedings of the French embassy. Happily for the peace of the confederacy, the ardor of the Germans cooled along with their own; and the Roman expedition was abandoned.

To retrieve the ill success of this abortive undertaking, and to revenge himself on Venice for having contributed to its failure, Maximilian eagerly caught at the scheme for the ruin of that republic contained in the so called *League of Cambray* of 1508, planned by pope Julius II., in alliance with France and Spain, for the partition of the Venetian territory. To this alliance also acceded Savoy, Ferrara, and Mantua. It was whispered that the league was directed not only against Venice, but against free commonwealths in general, and would consequently endanger the confederates. This apprehension for once procured a hearing to the warnings of the true friends of their country. Strong measures were proposed against enlistments; but as soon as the tempting dollars tinkled, the drums beat, and the flags waved,—all was forgotten,—and numerous bands of confederates rushed into the field. An embassy from Venice arrived too late in Switzerland, for the purpose of directing the attention of the diet to the common danger, and effecting between the two republics a useful and sincere alliance. Already, on the 14th May, the French, supported by 6000 confederates, had won the battle of Agnadello over the Venetians, which would have assuredly sealed the doom of the latter, if the jealousy and disunion of the allies,

and especially the altered views of the pope, had not rescued from ruin the then mistress of the seas. After the battle of Agnadello, Julius II. began to apprehend the preponderance of the French, whom he hated; and his rancor against Venice yielded at length to more cool-blooded political calculations. Accordingly, he made overtures to the latter, and did every thing in his power to break the league, and, if possible, to arm most of its members against France. His views were chiefly directed towards the confederacy. His confidential counsellor, Matthew Schinner, bishop of Sion, entered Switzerland with a good store of gold and absolutions; and on the 13th March, 1510, a league "*for the defence of the church*" was closed betwixt the pope and the cantons; the confederates engaging to supply 6000 men, while the holy father pledged himself to the distribution of various ghostly and worldly benefactions.

The extraordinary man who brought this alliance to pass, who impressed thereby a direction altogether unexpected on the whole political system of the confederates, and became thenceforwards the soul of all their enterprises against France, claims our attention on account of the influence exercised for a considerable time by him on the destiny of Switzerland. His parents were of humble station in Mühlebach, in the Upper Valais. His destiny brought him in contact during boyhood with an old priest, who knew how to excite his pupil's soul to high endeavors. Schinner gained distinction as a scholar at Zurich and Como, by assiduity and versatile talent. He exhibited an early predilection for the study of the ancient Roman writers; his pittance was devoted to the purchase of their works, for which he willingly paid the price of every convenience, and almost every necessary of life. His learning, spirit, and eloquence, combined with his ascetic mode of life and rigid morality, attracted great attention to his preaching, while he was yet only a parish priest in the Valais. The bishop remarked him, and favored his rise, which soon became so rapid, that in 1500 he himself obtained the episcopal office, and with it a sphere commensurate to his activity and ambition. From thenceforward his hand might be traced in all affairs of importance. His energy in word and act, his overpowering eloquence, his intrepid zeal in the cause of his native country, his immovable fidelity to the papal court, together with his bitter hatred of France, excited and enabled him to arm all Europe against that power, and to spread his own renown throughout the civilized world. He possessed, in a high degree, the art of veiling his acute views with the semblance of extreme simplicity; had friends and connexions everywhere; and was initiated thoroughly into all the deepest mysteries of state-craft, so as to give color and countenance to the

popular superstition, that a familiar demon disclosed to him whatever was hidden from others. Most means appeared legitimate to him in furtherance of his ends; but all became allowable when the object was to gratify his hatred of France. It was sympathy in this point which procured for him the confidence of the similarly disposed Julius II.; and the services which he rendered towards the gratifying of that pontiff's resentments, and his own, procured his nomination to the dignity of cardinal.

The ten years' alliance which Louis had closed with the confederacy in 1499, came to a conclusion, without either of the contracting parties showing any desire to renew it. France stood on the most amicable footing with the emperor, and in the most favorable situation with regard to all other powers; so that Louis thought himself able to do without the purchase of Swiss blood. He was besides induced, by ill-timed motives of parsimony, to prefer the cheaper services of the Landsknechts; and he thought himself sure, in any case of emergency, of obtaining as many Swiss as he chose, without consent of their governments. The cantons were as little disposed as the king to protract the alliance. As soon as the French had gained their own purposes, they had treated the confederates with their customary insolence. After the victory of Agnadello, to the gaining of which Swiss soldiers had so powerfully contributed, they were dismissed from the French army without their pay, and loaded with insults. Louis himself, when the confederates, in the course of negotiation, demanded higher pensions in return for their services, is said to have replied, that he was not accustomed to let mountain-boors like them prescribe laws to him. He proceeded to connect himself more closely with Maximilian; and the two princes resolved to attack the pope, and to deprive him of his spiritual and secular prerogatives; of the former by a council of the church convened at Pisa, of the latter by the force of arms. The first scheme was frustrated by Julius, who thundered his anathemas on the council of Pisa, and convoked an opposition-council at Rome. The former body, moreover, was compelled by a popular revolt to fly to Milan. The secular arms of the royal allies had, however, better fortune. The papal army was soon driven back on all points; and Rome would, in all probability, have fallen into the hands of Louis, if some inexplicable scruple had not withheld him from desecrating by military violence the residence of God's vicegerent on earth. The French army fell back again upon Milan; and its departure relieved the pope from a severe illness, the effect of disappointment and anxiety.

It was not, however, long before Julius contrived to engage

Spain, England, and Venice in the so called holy league against France; even Maximilian wavered, and his ambassadors secretly hinted to the diet of the confederacy, that if the latter meditated any attack on France, they need not be deterred by fear of hostilities from the emperor. At the same time Maximilian showed himself willing to recall the German Landsknechts from the French service. But Louis did not let himself be intimidated. Troops of Germans, Italians, even of Swiss, joined his army; and the excellence of his general Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours, seemed to offer a secure guarantee of victory. Events for a while justified his confidence. In February and April, 1512, Gaston forced the combined papal and Spanish army to raise the siege of Bologna; from thence marched upon Brescia, routed the Venetians; and on the 11th of April won a no less bloody than brilliant victory over Spain and the pope, in the neighborhood of Ravenna. The day was dearly bought by the young hero with the sacrifice of his life and the flower of his army. With him expired the fortune of France in Italy.

From the extremity of danger which again menaced the holy father, he saw himself unexpectedly saved by the aid of the confederacy. King Louis had attempted to renew his connexion with the latter; and the itching felt by many a palm for the touch of French dollars augured a favorable issue to his overtures: but the high demands of the Swiss deterred the frugal mind of the monarch, and after the victory of Ravenna the French broke off all negotiations. This was highly advantageous to the cause of the pope. A Swiss embassy negotiated with cardinal Schinner at Venice, while at Zurich the papal legate, Philomardo bishop of Veroli, distributed plenary absolutions, plentiful blessings, and some little of the gold which he had previously collected from the Swiss for the remission of their sins. The Swiss embassy at Venice was completely gained by the courtesies of the Venetians and the cunning of Schinner. On one occasion the cardinal surprised them with two sumptuous presents made them by the pope, consisting of a red silk hat with rich trimming, and decorated with gold and pearl embroidery representing the descent of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove, and a golden sword in a sheath of gilded copper, of which the hilt was adorned in like manner with pearls. The value of these presents was enhanced by the cardinal's exposition of their mystic meaning, and of the privileges annexed to them by the hand of the holy father. The overjoyed ambassadors returned home; and though many places broke with France unwillingly, war was at length decided on by the diet.

In May, 1512, a force of 20,000 confederates assembled at

Coire, under the command of Ulrich von Hohen Sax, the experienced leader of Zurich. The Grisons, too, who considered their alliance with France as dissolved by acts of violence and injustice on her part, and their old league with the confederates as more binding, joined their party. Their combined force marched on Verona, and the town was deserted by the French. On the 30th of May, they began their march from Verona, and effected a junction with the Venetians at Villafrauca. From thence their march resembled an uninterrupted triumphal procession, and overflowed with plunder and pleasure. The already inadequate forces of the French, which besides were daily weakened by the emperor's recall of the Landsknechts, abandoned even fortified towns without attempting serious resistance. On the approach of the confederates to Milan, the fathers of the Pisan church assembly, who had betaken themselves thither, and who had just deposed the pope from all his spiritual and secular dignities, were the first to seek their safety in flight. A popular insurrection, marked by horrible atrocities, wrested this metropolis from the French. Important troubles also took place in Genoa and other towns. At Pavia the French army vainly attempted some defence. From thence it fled in disorder over the mountains. The king retained in the whole of Italy hardly any other place than the fortresses of Milan and Cremona. At the former place the confederates pulled down the splendid monument of the hero of Ravenna, and even dragged his corpse from the grave, that one who had been anathematized by the pope might not rest in consecrated ground.

After the expulsion of the French, disputes arose betwixt the Swiss, the confederates, and the cardinal, with regard to the allotment of their conquests. The Venetians decamped in one night unexpectedly, and without any previous notice. Disorders threatened to break out in the Swiss army; and at length it was resolved to return home, well paid and enriched as they were with plunder. The pope rewarded the seasonable aid of the confederates, by bestowing on them the title of "Defenders of the Freedom of the Christian Church," and solicited an embassy to be sent to Rome from the diet; in order, as he pretended, that his trusty and beloved sons might take a part in all affairs of importance, but in truth that he might entrap them more completely by means of pensions, flatteries, and presents, and show the whole world how devoted to him was the valiant and formidable Helvetic body.

Now came the important question, into whose hands the conquered duchy of Milan should be delivered. This query could not possibly be indifferent to any of the allied powers—least of all, perhaps, to the confederates, whose trade must be

in some degree dependent on the favor or disfavor of the ruler of Milan. The Milanese themselves wished for the son of their late ruler, the expelled Ludovico Moro. This choice pleased the pope, as coinciding with his plan for purging Italy entirely from foreigners. It also pleased the confederates, who wished for a prince in Milan not powerful enough to do without their friendship and alliance. The emperor and Spain, on the other hand, hoped to see the ducal crown on the head of a younger branch of the imperial family. At an assembly in Mantua, the pope and the confederates carried the day; and it was resolved to invest with the dukedom Maximilian, the eldest son of Ludovico Moro. The confederates fixed their relations with the new ruler by formal deeds.

Apparent quiet was now restored in Italy; and it was thought that Louis, embarrassed as he was from all quarters, would be compelled to abandon all hope of reconquering Milan. But a new and fearful conflagration soon blazed up from the embers. The country, wasted, impoverished, and depopulated by the consequences of war, depredations, and banishments, had expected of the new government cures for its many and deep wounds. The easy-natured prince gave ear to the wishes of his subjects, and formed the most benevolent intentions; but his womanish weakness allowed him to put nothing in execution; and what little good might have issued from his irresolute and powerless hands was intercepted by the rapacity of the imperial, papal, and Swiss embassies. Hence arose a wish for the return of the French, who had subjected the people to less grinding oppression. This change of sentiments did not escape the penetration of those who were its principal objects. They had still retained connexions in the Milanese, and only watched a favorable moment to re-enter into possession of the land. That moment seemed to have come; for they succeeded in opening negotiations with the Swiss,—and the king expected great effects from the tried power of his gold. But an offended people is not so easily reconciled. Before the French embassy could even obtain its safe-conduct, certain sums were to be paid, the castles of Lugano and Locarno evacuated, and solemn engagements taken to make no secret levies. The conditions imposed by the Swiss during the course of negotiation, and especially the entire renunciation of Milan and Asti, appeared to the king so rigorous and unbearable, that the whole transaction failed, as neither promises nor even bribes could bend the determination of the confederates. Though there were many who preferred the French crowns and fat pensions to the consecrated banners, hats, and swords of the pope, his copious benedictions, and his frugal gifts; yet ill-will against France was so prevalent, and

Schinner employed alternately words and gold with such dexterity, that the French embassy not only were very roughly treated, but, their intrigues having exposed them to suspicion, were threatened with immediate dismissal.

The death of Julius II. seemed to open better prospects for France; which soon disappeared, when cardinal John of Medicis, who had just escaped from French captivity, succeeded to the papal chair by the name of Leo X. On the other hand, the king succeeded in forming a close alliance with the Venetians, who had felt themselves affronted by the allies. The disunion of the confederates, the defenceless state of the duchy, and the possession of the fortresses of Milan and Cremona, seemed to insure success to any new attempt on the part of France. Sixteen thousand picked troops, with a band of traitorous Swiss, were collected under the most eminent French generals, and directed their march across the mountains towards Asti. Ten thousand Venetians, under command of count Alviano, moved on Verona, and captured several places. A revolt in favor of France took place in Genoa. Duke Maximilian, on the other hand, with neither men nor money, was surrounded by a disaffected people, and was within the range of the French artillery, even in his own palace. His position was by no means enviable, though 4000 confederates had already joined him, and more numerous forces were expected. He found himself betrayed by one of his generals; his city of Milan opened its gates to the French; and the rest of the country soon followed the example set by the capital. Novara and Como only preserved their allegiance to the duke. Into the former of these towns Maximilian threw himself, with the Swiss in his pay, and a few hundred Lombard horsemen, and was soon blockaded there by the French army. He looked forward to a fate like that of his father, who, thirteen years before, in the same circumstances, had been betrayed by the same confederates in whose hands his destiny now lay. The hostile leaders confidently anticipated the same issue. But the fidelity of the Swiss for once deceived their expectations. In vain the French heaped promises upon promises; the only reply was a sally from the garrison. In vain the French artillery battered down the fortifications; the resolution of the Swiss was so far from wavering, that the gates of Novara were constantly kept open in defiance. On the second day, when the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, the enemy's discharges unexpectedly ceased. The French had raised the siege with precipitation, on intelligence of the approach of a Swiss army, which, however, was detained on its advance by many difficulties. At length the main body was collected at Arona, and waited there three days for the rest.

On their non-arrival, it was finally resolved to advance and provoke an engagement. The French were not to be found before Novara, but had formed an encampment half a league from the town. Their great superiority, not only in number, but in cavalry, artillery, and in the advantage of their position, might have dissuaded the confederates from attacking them until their whole number should have come up; but they nevertheless resolved to engage.

Before daybreak on the 13th of June, the Swiss army, 9000 strong, made its onset. Each single discharge of the French artillery stretched on the ground fifty or sixty of the assailants, who pressed forward in close column. Nothing, however, could stop them; and it soon came to a conflict between man and man, with knives and daggers. The French cavalry had long kept off attacks in flank, and even fallen on the rear of the confederates. Every thing yielded at length to the obstinate courage of the Swiss. In five hours they had gained a complete victory, and covered the field with 8000 of the enemy; but their triumph was bought with the blood of 1500 of their countrymen. The remaining divisions came up on the same evening and the following morning. Plunder and forced contributions in Piedmont, Montferrat, and Saluzzo, indemnified the victors for outstanding arrears of pay.

In order to give the people new occupation, and in compliance with the emperor's summons, the confederates now undertook an expedition into France. Against that power, an alliance which had been formed between the emperor, pope Leo X., Ferdinand of Arragon, and England, and which called itself by the name of the Holy League, already had commenced open hostilities. Ostensibly, this league was only formed against the Turks; but France was aimed at also by it, in a manner not to be mistaken. The act of adhesion, subscribed by the confederates and the duke of Milan, stated the holy league to have been closed against tyrants, the Turks, and specially for the defence of the Italian nation. Its duration was fixed for the life-time of the high contracting parties.

The emperor sent artillery and cavalry under the command of duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, with whom several of the cantons were in alliance. The combined forces appeared before Dijon in September, 30,000 strong instead of 16,000, the number which had been called out by the diet. The French general La Tremouille could hardly gather 6000 men round him, and panic unpeopled the open plains of France; but the Swiss force, although adequate to the greatest undertakings, was, at the moment, without guidance or order. So early as the 13th of September, a peace was effected in spite of the duke of Würtemberg's remonstrances, through flatteries, in-

sinuations with regard to the views of the emperor, and the most seductive assurances of all kinds. The king was to concede whatever belonged to the pope, the duke of Milan, or the emperor, and give up the castles of Milan, Cremona, and Asti to the confederates. Four hundred thousand crowns should be paid to the latter; half within eighteen days, the other moiety before the 11th of November. Conditions were also made in behalf of duke Ulrich and his followers. Four splendidly clothed hostages remained with them as securities, and the army returned homewards as if beaten out of the field.

It was soon perceived that the king had no intention of confirming this treaty. The only man of importance among the hostages escaped from an inn at Zurich, where he ought to have been carefully watched. The proposal made by several men of honor and courage, immediately to renew the invasion of France, was frustrated by the party in the French interest, which now began to raise its head anew. The duke of Milan more and more betrayed his incapacity, and excited discontent among his protectors: nothing, however, at last remained for him but deference to their will, and avoidance of whatever might displease them.

Through the pope, who was playing fast and loose with the confederates, king Louis now sought to renew his friendship with them; but he did not succeed, as he would not renounce his pretensions upon Milan. On the other hand, though well aware of the faithlessness of Leo, they renewed with him the league which they had formed with his predecessor.

On the death of Louis XII., Francis I., his successor, proposed terms of alliance to his "dear and honored friends" the Swiss. The bearer of these was reprimanded for coming without having made previous application for safe-conduct; and the only answer vouchsafed to him was, that peace had already been closed at Dijon. But the youthful monarch was not to be diverted from his purpose; and the delegates of his uncle the duke of Savoy employed every possible means, at successive diets, to gain the Swiss over to his interests without renunciation of Milan. All was in vain; and the efforts made to turn their distrust towards other powers only confirmed its direction against France. The French had in the mean time occupied Genoa; and pope Leo, in whose policy the interest of the house of Medicis took precedence of all other considerations, prevented the confederates from anticipating their movements. Maximilian Sforza, whom the great preparations of the new ruler of France had filled with anxiety, renewed his applications to the confederacy, who sent him 24,000 regular troops in three divisions, who were followed by 6000 volunteers. There was but little union or discipline in

this army; yet it obeyed the decree of the diet for occupation of the mountain passes, marched towards Piedmont under Prosper Colonna, an experienced Milanese general, and took up a position between Susa and Saluzzo. Unexpectedly the French army appeared in the district of Coni, accompanied by an hitherto unprecedented force of 20,000 Landsknechts, and by the then notorious black band of Gueldres, and furnished with eighty pieces of artillery. Colonna was surprised at Villafranca by the French, before the bulk of the Swiss force could come up to his assistance: moreover the inaction of the emperor inspired distrust, and retreat was at length decided on. The men of Berne, Freyburg, and Soleure, marched homewards through Arona; the troops of the other cantons, and the volunteers, towards Milan: the heavy artillery was carelessly left at Novara.

The cantons, in the meanwhile, with the exception of Uri, Schwytz, and Glarus, were engaged in negotiation with French envoys; and though the proposals of the latter were less advantageous than might have been looked for from the duke of Savoy's assurances, yet terms of peace were finally agreed on between the parties. Immediately on its conclusion, that division of the Swiss troops which had reached Arona, accompanied by the Valaisans, pursued its march homewards; but the Bernese volunteers, and the Argovian reinforcements, remained behind with the rest of the Swiss army. They were now upon the point of disbanding, when, on Schinner's persuasion, the body-guard of the duke, and part of the Swiss troops, provoked an action with the French in the vicinity of Marignano. Schinner soon succeeded in moving the rest to support their countrymen; and the French army, double the Swiss in numbers, found itself unexpectedly attacked in its strong position, protected by sixty-four pieces of heavy artillery, a deep trench, hedges, and walled inclosures. Regardless of the fearful execution done by the cannon, the Swiss pressed forwards, and soon compelled the black band to retreat; every thing gave way before them: the king fought in the murderous *mêlée*, surrounded by his nobles; and nothing but darkness put an end to the struggle. The French leaders employed the night in recovering their order. Early on the 14th, the main body of the Swiss renewed their onset, with Uri and Zurich at their head; and the French at least sold their lives dear to their antagonists, who rushed upon them under the well-pointed fire of their guns. But the fortune of the day was reversed about noon, by the Venetians, who fell upon the rear of the Swiss, already exhausted by this *battle of the giants* (as it was called by the old general Trivulcio.) Nevertheless, the latter repulsed the first charge; but the obstinacy of the new

assailants at length decided the victory. The confederates, compelled at length to yield to the unwonted necessity of retreat, retired slowly, carrying off as many as possible of their wounded, as well as the guns, standards, and horses, captured from the enemy. The Swiss had lost from six to seven thousand men, and neither prayers nor promises could keep them in Milan, whither they had betaken themselves at first: they hastened homewards, without any great anxiety being exhibited by the enemy to pursue them. And thus ended the last expedition on Lombardy undertaken by the confederates in their own name and in that of their country.

The king of France, astounded by a victory which rather wore the aspect of a defeat, closed the so called *perpetual peace* with the confederacy in the following year; a treaty which did justice to its title by a duration almost uninterrupted for three centuries, and formed the basis of all subsequent negotiations between the Swiss cantons and the kings of France. Francis was thus enabled to hire the aid of the confederates against the emperor, the pope, and the duke of Milan; and their soldiers bled in his service for some years without success or advantage to their country, unless we should except an invitation to Paris in the quality of godfathers to his new-born son. On this occasion every canton sent a delegate thither, each with a baptismal present of fifty ducats. A present on which Francis set a higher value, was that of 16,000 Swiss soldiers, who were sent to aid his Italian expeditions: but when 300 of these troops had fallen at Bicocca; and when, out of 15,000 others who had marched into Lombardy, hardly 4000 ever returned, the taste for such expeditions became by degrees less general in Switzerland.

CHAPTER XIII.

ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

1519—1531.

General Results of the Italian Expeditions.—Corruptions of the Catholic Church.—Case of Jetzer.—Leo X. extends the sale of Indulgences.—Sends an Apostolical Commissioner into Switzerland.—Ulrich Zwingli appointed Preacher at Zurich.—Resolution against Courtesans.—First Disputation of Baden.—Council of Zurich.—Its Reforms opposed by the other Cantons.—Anabaptists—and other Sectaries.—Levies of troops in Switzerland by Francis I.—Battle of Pavia.—Capture of the French King occasions consternation in Switzerland.—Second Disputation at Baden.—Cause of Reform espoused by Berne.—Thomas Murner.—Anabaptist Excesses.—Embitterment of Religious Parties.—Christian League.—Attack on Cappel.—Death of Zwingli.

THE Italian expeditions had for some time contributed to maintain the Swiss military character; but by degrees it became evident, that the changes in the art of war attendant on

the general use of fire-arms, and on the decline of the heavy cavalry of the middle ages, had placed other nations in possession of an infantry not inferior to their own. The rays of power, refracted from two centuries of victory, could not linger very long after the loss of real pre-eminence. The latter campaigns in Italy had not tended to retrieve the consideration of foreigners, whose faith, if not in the courage, at least in the conduct of the dreaded mountaineers, was at length completely shaken. Through the effects of these campaigns, too, the character of the people had been rendered more intractable than ever; the bond of the confederacy had been still farther loosened; domestic virtue and useful activity banished, and the vital juices drained from the nation by slaughter, or dried up by contagious disorders. All these too perceptible and prevalent evils must have tended, in no small degree, to prepare the minds of many for those new religious impulses which were soon to set the world in motion.

Christianity had been more and more perverted, and employed for purposes foreign from its origin: this had been effected the more easily, as almost all knowledge was confined to the clergy; while the ignorance and implicit faith of the people rendered it mere brute material in their hands. Though the princes of Europe, after a long struggle with the popes, had been able to maintain their most important prerogatives; and though even the confederates had restrained within certain limits the manifest assumptions of the hierarchy, yet in spiritual concerns the civil governments of Europe had become mere subdivisions of the ecclesiastical empire.

When the bishop of Rome had brought the people of Christendom so far as to revere in him a delegate of the Godhead, and had thereby become a legislator and judge in matters of faith, the original records of that faith of course sunk in importance. The popular religion came to consist in implicit adoption of whatever was prescribed by the priesthood; and, above all, in superstitious veneration of its head. Arrayed in forms of constantly increasing outward splendor, it ceased to aim at an inward elevation of the soul, and became, with most, a mere amusement of fancy and of the senses. The appropriate destination of man to the active use of his mental and corporeal powers was forgotten; while renunciations, pilgrimages, penances, donatives to consecrated places, observance of innumerable holidays, were held infallible methods of salvation. Prayers were addressed no longer to the Deity, but to the dead who had been raised by the pope to saintship; and this veneration became by degrees a species of actual worship, which extended itself to lifeless things, to images, and symbols. To these, and to the relics and the rags of the saints, to the

sound of bells, to holy water, &c., miraculous and divine powers were attributed. When misfortune came upon either individuals or communities, it was sure to be ascribed to the neglect of some ecclesiastical precept or observance; and reconciliation with the Deity was to be sought by one or the other of the above-mentioned appliances.

Instruction, whether moral or religious, had become in a manner closed against the people: the use of the Bible was wholly withdrawn from laymen; and the select few of the clerical order who did or could read it, used it only in the study of scholastic theology, and in the propping up of canonical and hierarchical pretensions. Ignorance and dissoluteness prevailed among the lower clergy: the higher, in particular the Italian, gave themselves up to every species of licentiousness; and their crimes went for the most part unpunished, as they had managed to exempt themselves from the civil jurisdictions. Ever since the cessation of the schisms which had been caused by rival candidates to the papal chair, it was occupied, after brief lucid intervals, by men who gave themselves up to the most execrable vices, or who pursued the most perfidious policy.

If the attempts of Arnold of Brescia, Huss, and others, and the measures of the councils held at Constance and Basle, had failed of their anticipated effect, they had, however, introduced a very general conviction of the necessity for some sweeping church reform. But this reform, instead of being sought by any rational means, was expected to proceed, as it were, spontaneously from the very men whose dignities, wealth, and influence depended on the corruption of religion. In the mean time, the invention of printing, the newly-revived acquaintance with the writers of antiquity, and the diffusion of a more profound study of the Scriptures, accelerated the coming of the mighty change.

The indolence and vices of the clergy had occasioned discontent even in Switzerland. The rivalry of the several monastic orders, in their claims to saintship, miracles, and relics, was productive of innumerable deceptions. Four Dominican monks were burnt at Berne in 1509, who, in order to maintain, in opposition to the Franciscans, the doctrine of their order on the immaculate conception, had endeavored to manufacture a new miracle by deluding a simple brother of the order. There is something horribly ludicrous, if the phrase may be permitted, in the details of this iniquitous transaction; and as the whole affair is a tolerable sample of the means of *moral influence* used by the rival confraternities, the recital of it may not be entirely without interest.

In a chapter of the order held at Wimpfen on the Neckar,

in 1506, it was resolved, after general condolences on the growing influence gained by the Franciscans, and the poverty and contempt into which their own order was falling, to venture one bold stroke for winning back their hold on public opinion. After long deliberations on the place and mode of execution, the sub-prior Franz Uelschi offered his monastery at Berne as the theatre, and promised his best aid in getting up the intended drama. He described the population of that town as simple and valiant, and, therefore, easily moved to attest, by force of arms if necessary, the truth of any miracle worked in honor of their native place. The proposal was accepted with alacrity. On his return to Berne, Uelschi confided his purpose to the prior Johann Vater, friar Bolshorst, and the steward of the monastery, Steinegger, as well as to the other principal monks. He himself undertook the arrangement of the plot, and soon found a fit subject for deception in a simple-hearted tailor, Jetzer by name. The plotters reckoned securely on the credulity of this poor wretch, from the air of earnest devotedness with which he had sought admission as a lay-brother, offering them in return for that privilege all that he possessed, which consisted in fifty-three florins and a few pieces of silk. They began their operations upon him as soon as he entered the cloister, first by nightly noises, then by visual apparitions of St. Barbara, and a soul out of purgatory. The superstitious fears of this poor fanatic were thus by degrees worked upon so effectually, that he threw himself for spiritual assistance into the arms of Bolshorst, who had purposely been assigned as his father-confessor. The artful betrayer encouraged Jetzer's faith in the foregoing appearances, and in the promise of a visit from the Virgin, which it seems had been made him by St. Barbara. By these means he was easily persuaded to perform perpetual penitential exercises, and, in short, to act the part of a saint for the popular edification, whereby shoals of curious visitors were attracted to the Dominican convent.

The eclipse of the Franciscans was, however, incomplete, unless they could be deprived of the monopoly of the five prints of our Savior's wounds, which had drawn the adoration of a barbarous age to the emaciated body of St. Francis. One step was made towards the attainment of this end by Bolshorst, who approached our unlucky tailor's bed in the character of the Virgin, and with lofty strains on the grace which was thus vouchsafed to him, drove a sharp nail through one of his victim's hands. The cry of pain put forth by the latter hindered his betrayers from finishing their work on that occasion; but on the following night, after giving him a strong sleeping-draught, the requisite marks were produced by means

of corrosives on four other parts of his person. When he awoke, the monks took advantage of his amazement to expatiate on the miracle which had taken place, and persuaded him to regard himself as a favorite of the Virgin, if not actually as the Savior of mankind. They took him into a room hung with pictures of Christ's sufferings, which the deluded fanatic set himself to imitate in looks and gestures: he wrung his hands as if he were in the garden of Gethsemane: he drooped his head as if it were encircled by the crown of thorns: sometimes he fell into strong convulsions, aided by the potions administered, and sunk down as one struggling with the agonies of death. The people streamed in greater crowds than ever to the monastery, supped themselves full of horrors on the spectacle set before them, and listened with implicit faith to the homilies of Bolshorst, who enlarged on the glory vouchsafed by these new miracles to the Dominican order, and on the evidence which they afforded of the errors of the Franciscans. It was now the turn of the latter to be neglected; and respectable, even learned men, began to partake the reigning delusion. No question but that the crazy tailor of Berne would have maintained to this day a distinguished legendary station, had he been quietly withdrawn from the stage at the zenith of his glory.

But the betrayers had successfully reached the summit of effrontery only to suffer a more tremendous fall. Secure in the blind credulity of his victim, Bolshorst took less pains to disguise his voice on his next appearance in the character of the Virgin, and was recognized by Jetzer, who railed at him till he was forced to leave the apartment. It fared no better with the prior, who took his place the next night; and the sub-prior was equally unsuccessful in supporting the part of St. Catharine of Siena. It was now resolved to still the rising suspicions of the lay-brother, by acknowledging the latter deceptions; but, on the other hand, to persist in the reality of the earlier visions, and persuade him to continue his fanatical exhibitions. In this they succeeded with some trouble; but growing fears of detection urged them to hasten the closing scenes of their drama. A report was put about by old women, that an image of the Virgin in the Dominican church had been seen to weep. A congregation of the curious was of course attracted, who saw the tears, and moreover saw Jetzer kneeling before the miraculous image in an attitude of palsied immobility. His four betrayers approached him with an air of utter unconsciousness, and asked him what was the reason of his presence there, and of those tears; he affirmed that some invisible power had transported him thither, and held him there until he should have disclosed all to the leading men

of the canton. Upon this the monks had actually the audacity to solicit the attendance of the avoyer Erlach, and of several of the principal members of council. Jetzer declared in their presence that the mother of God wept because of the ruin of the town, which would assuredly be caused by the receiving of French pensions, and, above all, by farther tolerating the errors and false doctrines of the Franciscans. Amidst the general surprise at this announcement, several clear-sighted men tacitly combined themselves to give the affair a thorough investigation.

At the same time, a suspicion awoke in Jetzer's mind that his holy brothers meant to make away with him: indeed they made no farther secret of this, on his refusal to partake suspicious viands, after he had detected them, on more than one occasion, engaged in preparing their mummeries, or in enjoying their nocturnal orgies. They forced him to swallow a poisoned wafer, the fatal effect of which was, however, withstood by the strength of his constitution. They next tortured their victim into a solemn promise of silence; but he soon afterwards seized an opportunity to escape, and reported in the town the horrible tricks which had been played on him. The Dominicans, backed by a powerful party, still dared to deny the charge, and even dispatched messengers to Rome, whence they hoped to procure a sentence in their favor. But it soon appeared that the council of Berne had sent a similar message to the bishop of Lausanne and the pope; in consequence of which Julius dispatched his legate, Achilles de Grassis, who, with the bishops of Lausanne and Sion, and in the presence of several members of council, commenced the investigation at Berne, according to the usual mode of procedure at that time in criminal cases. Poor Jetzer, who might have been thought to have already suffered enough, was once more put to the torture, but stoutly persisted in his former story. The confessions of the monks, which were of an equally dark and revolting nature, were likewise sent to Rome, after the council of Berne, with some trouble, had obtained communication of them to eight of its own members. The only reasons given for the sentence, which was published, were, that the criminals had denied the Godhead, colored the sacramental wafers, and painted false tears upon an image of the Virgin; and, moreover, had mocked the sufferings of the Savior, by the five prints of wounds which they made on the person of Jetzer. The four monks were publicly divested of their priestly functions, and delivered up to the secular power for execution by fire, which accordingly took place, in the presence of many thousand spectators; but in so clumsy a style, that the popular abhorrence of the criminals was forgotten in the feeling exci-

ted against the executioner. Jetzer, who had still been retained in custody, contrived to make his escape by the aid and connivance of compassionate souls, but was again arrested, several years afterwards, and made some farther disclosures supplementary to his former ones, which threw additional light on the aim and plan of the conspiracy. Innumerable versions of the whole disgusting history were spread in several languages through all Europe, and deeply wounded the credit of the Dominican order, while it infinitely scandalized all simple believers. Meanwhile, philosophical minds found pregnant matter of inference from this case to a hundred others similar; and it gave no inconsiderable impulse to the first steps of the infant reformation. Besides which, the faith of the Swiss in papal infallibility had been much undermined in the course of the Italian expeditions, and the metropolis of the Christian world became the butt of jests and proverbs. The inconsiderate rapacity of the papal court at this time conduced to plunge it in still deeper discredit.

Pope Leo X., whose love of splendor and warlike undertakings kept him constantly in need of large revenues, extended the sales of indulgences beyond all former limits, and sent an Italian monk, Bernard Sampson by name, laden with them, as apostolic commissioner into Switzerland. This man offered his wares to the poor at the rate of a few pence, and drew from the rich whatever they chose to bestow. Tariffs of the rates of absolution were established, and married women encouraged to buy against the will of their husbands.

When Bernard Sampson made his appearance in Schwytz, his first opponent was Ulrick Zwingli, the parish priest of Einsiedlen. This extraordinary man was born at Wildhausen, in Toggenburg, A. D. 1484: he was distinguished even in boyhood by his ardor for knowledge, and studied at Berne, Basle, and Vienna. Being appointed to a curacy in Glarus, he attended its banner, according to the custom of those times, in the battles of Novara and Marignano. Here he learned to know, by daily examples, the causes and effects of dissolute morals, of pensions, foreign enlistments, and the prevailing neglect of religion. While thousands around him were not in the smallest degree sensible of the prevalence and extent of corruption, Zwingli implored remedial measures at the hands of bishops and prelates, when hardly past the period of extreme youth.

The trader in indulgences proceeded to Berne, which was then the seat of wealth and superstition. At the price of a stallion, Jacob von Stein purchased absolution for himself, his soldiers, his ancestors, and his vassals, at Belp. The bishop of Constance openly declared against this traffic; and the dean

of Bremgarten, Bullinger, distinguished himself so much in opposition to the seller of indulgences, that the latter lanced the ban of the church against him, from which he could be released by nothing short of 300 ducats.

In Zurich, where corruption of morals had spread itself as widely as in any town of Switzerland, fomented as it was by the presence of foreign ambassadors, and by the frequent holding of diets, Sampson had hoped to make a lucrative haul, the rather as a diet was sitting on account of transactions with Würtemberg. But at the same epoch Zwingli was placed as preacher in the cathedral; and his exhortations soon had powerful effect, as they were backed by influential and respectable persons. The trader in indulgences was compelled to evacuate Zurich; and received emphatic hints from many members of the diet, that he had better not pursue his mission in Switzerland. Zwingli preached to crowded congregations against the prevailing corruption of morals, foreign enlistments, and foreign luxuries. A general anxiety was excited by his sermons for acquaintance with the biblical writings; and, in the following year, the government promulgated an ordinance that preachers should be guided by the word of God exclusively. From the presses of Amerbach, Froben, and Petri, at Basle, Bibles, classical writings, and, at last, those of Luther and Erasmus, were disseminated. The latter author, who visited the Basle university in 1519, contended with success against superstition, so long as the expression of his clear views remained unchecked by the apprehension of hurting himself with powerful persons and parties, and turned monastic abuses into ridicule by his satirical powers; while his Latin version, with notes, of the New Testament, awakened a disposition for the well-grounded study of Scripture. When, at a diet in Baden, in 1520, the legate Pucci demanded the destruction of all Lutheran writings, his proposal was by no means met with alacrity; and, in the same year, the confederates unanimously resolved that all *courtisans** who were not deterred by the notice thus afforded them, should be put in sacks and drowned.

Had Zwingli and his fellow-laborers only sought to effect an ecclesiastical reform, they would have gained their end more easily than by extending their aim to a moral one, as

* *Courtisanerie* was the name applied to one of the most impudent abuses of the Catholic church. Italian priests, and other vagabonds, made their appearance in Switzerland, furnished with papal titles of succession to such benefices, (named or unnamed,) as should be vacant. Curacies, deaneries, and prebends were invaded by the holders of these scandalous documents; and not only were well-deserving candidates excluded by them from offices which they had earned by the labor of years, but it often happened that more than one of these letters-patent were given for a single place or benefice, whereby disorders, quarrels, and even bloodshed, were occasioned.

they felt themselves bound to do. Their attacks on foreign services and pensions made them enemies among numerous and influential classes. With these open or secret opponents in the laity were united monks and other clerical personages; some from conviction, others from apprehension of the effects which any radical change must have on their own interests.

So long as the new doctrines worked no visible alteration in the outward form and features of the ecclesiastical polity, the court of Rome and its legates paid but slight attention to them; the more so, as the exhortations of Zwingli against French influence seconded the secret political views of Leo X. But when during Lent, in 1522, many neglected the ordinance for fasting, without having purchased dispensations for the use of forbidden food, the bishop of Constance issued a mandate against all innovations, and dispatched to the council of Zurich a missive directed to the same purpose.

Zwingli and the majority of his followers had hitherto, for the most part, abstained from attacks on the outward forms of the church; but the resistance which was now rising forced them to a more complete development of their system. Zwingli now inculcated the avoidance of all merely external observances in the service of the Deity. He diffused his doctrines in small pamphlets or treatises, which, like those of Luther, were eagerly read. He now demanded a public investigation of the charges brought against him by his accusers. Accordingly a disputation was fixed to be held on the 29th of January, 1523, at Zurich, to which the delegates of the cantons assembled at Baden were invited. All the preachers of Zurich, with many foreign prelates and men of learning, assisted at this disputation in the presence of the great council. The episcopal vicar, John Faber, endeavored in vain to postpone investigation, and to defer it to a general council. Zwingli was not confuted by his opponents; and the great council encouraged him by an ordinance to persevere in preaching the word of God; and enjoined on the other preachers to advance nothing which they were not prepared to make good from the same source. A second disputation was held in the autumn of the same year, at which a decision was first pronounced against images and image-worship, and next for abolition of the mass. These decisions were communicated to the Basle university, the bishops of Constance, Basle, Coire, and the twelve cantons, accompanied with a challenge to produce their objections. In the following spring the delegates of the confederacy appeared before the great council of Zurich, admonished it to desist from all innovations, threatened the exclusion of Zurich from the diets of the confederacy, promised that rigorous measures should be taken against cour-

tisans, and for the removal of all clerical abuses. The sentiments of the delegates were, however, far from unanimous; and Schaffhausen showed some disposition to approximate to the system of Zurich.

The great council of Zurich, which in a manner had assumed to itself the conduct of the affairs of the reformation, replied, that it would accept correction only from the word of God; and proceeded in its career of innovation. Processions, pilgrimages, and images were done away with,—relics, amongst which were discovered several gross deceptions, were buried,—the sacrament was restored to its original institution, and communicated in both kinds to the laity. The inmates of the monasteries received permission to leave them, and the monasteries themselves were turned into alms-houses, schools, and hospitals, while a great part of their revenues was applied to the support of preachers, charities, and gymnasia. In a short time all the ceremonies and services of the Romish church were abolished, without the slightest disorder, throughout the whole canton. Many members of the clerical order married; but so great is the force of ideas in which men have been brought up, that many of the bigoted adherents to the old system, who had connived at, or excused as unavoidable, the practice of concubinage by the Catholic clergy, were the loudest in condemning the *marriage* of clergymen as a crime. Thomas Wyttenbach, and others of that order, who had entered into the holy state of matrimony, were fairly compelled to renounce their clerical functions altogether.

Though most of the Swiss governments and dignified clergy opposed themselves to the doctrines of the reformation, these doctrines spread in every quarter where entrance was not closed upon them. According as the friends of one or the other creed in a canton gained preponderating influence in the council, reform either made rapid progress or suffered retardations. At Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Mühlhausen, Basle, in the Grisons, and the Thurgau, it received alternate checks and encouragements. Constance decreed that teaching should be regulated according to the word of God only. Several communes in Appenzell abolished the mass, retaining, however, the images over the altar. Berne, which, in 1523, had allowed some nuns at Königsfelden to leave the cloister and marry, in 1524 displaced preachers who did likewise, and adhered in most of its measures to the majority of the cantons.

As Christianity, in its very cradle, afforded occasion to schisms and false doctrines, even so the reformation soon developed infinite varieties of principle. Long before Luther and Zwingli had come forward, many elements of disorder were fermenting in the bosom of the German population; and

now those whose enthusiastic wishes were unsatisfied with the doctrines of the moderate reformers were joined by men whose ambition was more worldly, and the existing discontents secured them numerous auxiliaries. Confounding the condition of the first Christian societies with that of modern empires and communities, they sought to level all the existing forms of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Some refused the payment of tithes, others complained of feudal burdens and services; many denied the usefulness of a spiritual order, and others the necessity for authority of any kind, except of such as suited with the reign of the saints. As many of them only allowed the baptism of adults, and consequently bestowed the rite a second time on their followers, they acquired the name *wiedertäufer* (anabaptists). In many places they not only withdrew themselves from divine service, and taught their doctrines in forests and retired places, but threw off all allegiance to the temporal government: Zurich, Soleure, Appenzell, the district of St. Gall, and the bishopric of Basle, were especially infested by them. Without reflecting that no new idea ever warms the human heart without exciting human passions, timid people joined chorus with the enemies of the reformation in attributing entirely to its principles the fever in the brain of a set of enthusiasts.

Another occurrence, which stood in no connexion with these movements, did nevertheless contribute not a little to give rise to apprehensions of a similar kind. The Swiss land-vogt, Amberg, in the Thurgau, carried off in the night a Protestant preacher of Burg, near Stein. This occasioned a tumult among the populace, who attempted to free their pastor; and failing in the attempt, plundered and burned the monastery of Ittingen. Spectacles like these alarmed the governments, as well as many powerful individuals. The subtle and accomplished Faber, episcopal vicar at Constance, exerted himself to increase their apprehensions; and many former friends of reform in Berne and other places had now become its declared and open enemies.

Although at Zurich the authorities, as well as the reformers, did their utmost to avoid the imputation of scandalous or violent measures, yet they could not always succeed in checking the zeal of individuals. Not only were reciprocal provocations exchanged betwixt their own and the neighboring cantons, but in Zurich itself some of the clergy denounced with more than clerical zeal ideas to which they had not been accustomed. A shoemaker, Nicholas Hottinger, and others, had overthrown a crucifix even before the disputation, and the subsequent prohibition of idolatry. After an imprisonment of several months, Hottinger was banished for two years; but being afterwards

arrested for indiscreet expressions at Klingnau, he was carried to Lucerne, and there illegally condemned to death. Thither, too, a preacher of the name of Oechsli was carried, put to the rack, but at length restored to liberty. Frequent diets were held, at which the necessity was acknowledged of leading Zurich back from her errors into the bosom of the Catholic church, and of arresting the march of heresy in the undecided cantons.

While the leaders of the government of Berne concurred with the other cantons in maintaining the old system, the new doctrines still continued to gain a firmer footing. In the Grisons, the loose and scandalous deportment of bishop Ziegler occasioned much agitation among the people. In consequence, without any secession from the Romish see, regulations of church discipline were made, which show how much may be done by a Catholic government even in spiritual matters.

During these proceedings, foreign influences had been active in most parts of the confederacy. Many warlike spirits had already forgotten the lessons of the last campaign in Italy: 6000 Swiss, and 4000 men from the Grisons and the Valais, joined the French army, which, in the autumn of 1523, marched under Bonnivet through Piedmont into Italy. It was only because the French general did not take advantage of the circumstances that Milan failed to be captured by his army. His slighted fortune soon changed for the worse. The Swiss were so embittered by the loss of several hundred men, surprised and cut to pieces by the enemy, that for some time they spared none of the prisoners, even when the French brought them in. 6000 troops from the Grisons were compelled to retreat by the skilful movements of their antagonist, John of Medici, and a new Swiss reinforcement of 6000 or 8000 men, after affording many proofs of valor, only served to facilitate the retreat of the French out of Upper Italy. The confederates themselves had been obliged to advance pay for their troops, and not much more than the third part of those who had marched ever returned; and these returned, stripped of every thing, over the Great St. Bernard.

Francis I. now put forth his whole strength and resources. Fear of the increasing power of the emperor, Charles V., had engaged pope Clement VII. on the side of the French; and, in order to win the support of the confederacy, the new allies agreed that the duchy of Milan, when it was conquered, should belong to the third son of the king, whom they had carried to the baptismal font. The king weakened his army by marching one division against Naples, and by the harassing siege of Pavia, undertaken during the winter. He found himself unexpectedly attacked, on the 6th of February, by the most ex-

perienced generals of the emperor; whose army had gained strength, in the same proportion as that of Francis had lost in number and in confidence. He received an utter defeat, and was made prisoner, notwithstanding all the exertions of his personal intrepidity. The leader of the Swiss, John of Diesbach, threw himself into the thickest of the battle, in order to escape surviving dishonor; and, with few exceptions, the other leaders fell in a similar manner. The fugitives returned home by the way of Como, almost in rags; and the general consternation caused by their tidings was equal to that occasioned by the disastrous day of Bicocca. The lessons of experience, however, did not suffice to hinder about 8000 Swiss recruits from joining Francis again on his return from Spanish captivity.

Even the friends of the old system in Switzerland were, at length, compelled to propose a disputation; but, mindful of the consequences of those which had been held at Zurich, they chose a theatre fitter for their purpose, and adopted regulations, by which they hoped to secure the victory. Berne's proposal of meeting at Basle was negatived by the magistrates of that town themselves: Baden was preferred as a place standing under the safeguard of the eight orthodox cantons. The disputation was fixed for the 16th of May, 1526; and the bishops of Basle, Constance, Coire, and Lausanne, were invited to assist at the meeting. Zurich was coldly and formally admitted to send delegates; but Zwingli received timely warnings not to make his appearance. Besides the delegates of the cantons, many lay and clerical personages of note attended the sittings. Dr. Eck of Ingoldstadt, and the celebrated Œcolampadius, were the most distinguished champions of the opposite parties. The Catholic majority of the meeting, without publishing any report of their proceedings, declared themselves to have triumphed in the controversy, and prohibited the works of Luther and Zwingli. But Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, issued a counter-declaration, that they would consider nothing as proved, until they had minutes of the evidence. Glarus and Appenzell also refused acquiescence.

The cause of reform was now espoused by Berne: it was announced to the four bishops in that canton, that their authority was no longer to be recognized, and the same arrangements were made about church property as at Zurich. Notwithstanding the opposition of many members of the government, a solemn engagement was entered into against foreign pensions and alliances, and the league with France was limited to the observance of the perpetual peace. Great was the effect of so complete a revolution, in the councils of this most important member of the Helvetic body.

Thomas Murner, a friar of Lucerne, and one of the most vehement opponents of the reformation, wrote, in the most offensive manner, against Berne and its measures. The anabaptists had found numerous adherents in that canton, and excited some disturbance in the district of Schenkenberg; commotions also took place in the vicinity of Interlachen, where the peasantry regarded the suppression of the monasteries as including the cessation of all payment of dues and offerings. These disorders were soon composed by the aid of the men of Thun; and Berne discovered her strength in the adherence of her faithful people. New disturbances next broke out in the Oberland, where the men of Hasli carried the restoration of the mass by a majority of forty voices. Uri and Unterwalden sent thither a party of priests to foment disaffection, and the repeated admonitions of the government were fruitless. The revolt soon extended over the Grindelwald, and as far as Untersee; and many districts refused to contribute their aid against the insurgents. Moreover, 800 Unterwaldners marched over the Brünig, and, in conjunction with the men of Hasli, took possession of Untersee. The wise and prudent policy of Berne was now rewarded by the devotedness of by far the greater number of her subjects. The Unterwaldners hastily retreated, and a general submission took place, without shedding of blood.

The national sympathies, momentarily revived by the disaster of Pavia, soon expired in the bitterness of controversy. Men who had been taught from their youth upwards, that beyond the pale of the church there was no salvation,—that all dissenters ought to be forced back into the orthodox creed, and that no engagement with heretics was binding,—were capable of the most atrocious outrages, when personal passions added their venom to that of religious hatred. A priest of Zug suffered severe punishment for having eaten in company with Zwingli at Zurich. Two men of the March were burnt in Schwytz. Such occurrences sufficiently showed the reformers in what light they were looked upon by the opposite party, and forced them on the most decisive measures in self-defence. Nor did they abstain from sanguinary reprisals: Marcus Wehrli of Frauenfeld, a zealous foe of the new doctrines, was arrested in his passage through Zurich, in company with the land-vogt of Unterwalden, and beheaded on the charge of persecutions and false accusations of heresy.

About this time Zug and Lucerne stamped a small cross on the new coinage of Zurich, to signify that church-plate had entered into its composition. Five cantons required the people of Bremgarten to deliver up their new books and Bibles, a demand to which Zurich and Berne alone openly opposed them-

selves. These two cantons now set on foot a so-called Christian league, to which they declared themselves compelled by the attempts of eight of their colleagues to suppress the reformation among their subjects. Into this alliance all confederates espousing the reformed creed were admissible; and so sacred was the bond of the empire still esteemed in Switzerland, that its rights were made points of express reservation, as were those of the confederacy itself.

The opposite persuasions were first brought into hostile collision by an attack made by the Catholics on Cappel, where the defeat of Zurich was aggravated by the death of Ulrich Zwingli. The enemy found him lying on his back severely wounded; and, not knowing his person, asked if they should bring him a confessor. This being declined, by a faint motion of his head, they exhorted him to call on the holy Virgin and the saints. Rejecting this suggestion in a similar manner, he was saluted by the enraged foe with the names of dog and heretic, and dispatched by the sword of a citizen of Unterwalden. "Thus," says Bullinger with touching simplicity, "thus was master Ulrich Zwingli slain in the midst of his own flock, with whom he remained even unto death." The body was not recognized till the day after the battle, when the fury of the enemy displayed itself by dishonoring it. In vain their leaders enjoined moderation and reverence of the dead. The multitude determined that the body should be quartered and burned by the public executioner of Lucerne. Even the ashes were purposely mixed with impurities, lest his friends should enjoy the last mournful solace of collecting them.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE ALLIANCE OF BERNE AND FREYBURG WITH GENEVA TO THE BORROMEAN LEAGUE.

1526—1586.

Town of Geneva.—Its Early History.—Oppressed by the Duke of Savoy.—Mamelukes.—Cruelties exercised on the Burghers—who court the Alliance of Freyburg.—Duke Charles enters the Town.—Execution of Berthelier.—Alliance of Berne and Freyburg with Geneva.—Impotent resentment of the Duke.—Spoon League.—Treaty of St. Julian.—Zeal of Farel and others.—Abolition of Catholicism.—Equivocal Deportment of Duke Charles.—Conquest of the Vaud by Berne.—Co-burghership betwixt Berne and Geneva.—Calvin.—Servetus.—Effects of the Reformation.—Council of Trent.—Borromean League.—Calendar Controversy.—Escalade of Geneva.

THE original foundation of Geneva is buried in obscure antiquity. It was already a considerable town under the Romans, in the age of Cæsar and Diviko. Under Charlemagne and the

Burgundian kings it was possessed of many important franchises, through which it raised itself gradually to almost complete independence. Situated on the banks of the Lemman lake, at its southern extremity, surrounded by extensive suburbs and highly productive vineyards, the seat of a bishopric, the central point of the trade of France, Germany, and Italy, proprietress of a great fair, and acknowledging no lord paramount but the emperor, Geneva grew in prosperity through the industry, the enterprising and independent spirit of its burghers. Their rights were, however, constantly in danger from the counts de Genevois, who derived their title from the name of the town, and the bishops of Geneva, whose episcopal seat was within its walls. The preservation of the town was not less owing to the quarrels of the counts and the bishops than to the native love of freedom in its burghers. At a later period the favor of the German emperors conferred the principality of Geneva on the bishops, and the power of the counts fell into decay. On the other hand, the ducal house of Savoy aimed, during the thirteenth century, at sovereignty in Geneva. The burghers themselves had called in its assistance against the counts; but when their new allies grasped at all the prerogatives of their former masters, established themselves in the forts of the town, and encroached on all its liberties, they learned to lament their folly in expelling a weaker enemy by the aid of a too powerful protector. Even the ambitious plans of Savoy were long frustrated by the energetic stand made by the bishops combined with the burghers, until towards the close of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, when an almost uninterrupted line of princes of the house of Savoy ascended the episcopal chair of Geneva. The last of them, a contemptible weakling, abdicated in favor of duke Charles III. all the secular rights which he supposed himself to possess in the town. This illegal abdication caused considerable disturbances. The burghers almost unanimously refused to accept the yoke of Savoy, and the few who seemed inclined in its favor were stigmatized with the name of *Mamelukes*. The duke now had recourse to open violence, to complete an undertaking which he had begun in contempt of justice. Burghers of Geneva were imprisoned in the Savoyard territory, confessions of a conspiracy extorted from them by means of torture, and employed as a pretext for their judicial murder. These proceedings struck the Genevans with terror. Many, dreading a similar destiny, banished themselves from their country. Many turned an eye of hope on the neighboring Swiss confederacy. Philip Berthelier, a Genevese exile, gained over the government of Freyburg to the cause of his fellow-countrymen; and in the

year 1519 the municipality of Geneva resolved to form an alliance with that town. On this the duke took up arms, as remonstrances were in vain with the Swiss, and unexpectedly appeared with his army before the gates of Geneva. The inexperience, indecision, and disunion of the burghers worked in his favor not less than the discipline of his own troops. He entered the town, disarmed the burghers; and Geneva would have undergone the extremities prepared for conquered rebels, had not some moderation been forced on the duke by his fear of the Swiss. Freyburg summoned the aid of the confederacy, and the summons was answered from all sides with alacrity. "Every one," says an old writer, "who had any thing like heart in his breast, was resolved to aid in the rescue of Geneva, and in punishing the duke's usurpations." Six thousand Swiss entered the Savoyard territory, and threatened an unsparing retaliation for every act of violence which should be ventured at Geneva. The duke had prudence enough to conceal his resentment, and to pay the war expenses of the Freyburgers. Geneva thus remained in his hands; a general amnesty was promised; notwithstanding which Berthelier's head fell on the scaffold, and the town was obliged to give up its league with Freyburg. The latter was persuaded with great difficulty, by the rest of the Helvetic body, to accept the terms of this treaty.

Duke Charles now rioted without restraint in the enjoyment of his newly regained dominion. Wherever his will met with opposition, it was summarily suppressed by the sword. All independence of spirit seemed for ever crushed in Geneva. But when the duke mixed in the grand contest for Milan, the town employed the occasion to renew its struggle for freedom. On this the duke passed sentence of death on the heads of the popular party, who fled to Freyburg, and besieged the Helvetic body with their complaints. Freyburg again declared herself, with Berne's concurrence, for the cause of Geneva. The duke hastened thither in alarm, released the prisoners, and procured a declaration of his sovereignty from an assembly of the burghers, surrounded by his body-guard. Thereupon he left the town, imagining that he had placed his dominion over it on a new and permanent basis. Formidable discontents broke out on his departure. The council declared those who had been banished "friends of the country." The citizens called loudly for a league with Berne and Freyburg. Every street re-echoed the cry of "Long live the confederates!" The highest municipal functions were conferred on a friend of Switzerland. The exiles returned home, and brought along with them a project of co-burghership with Berne and Freyburg. The whole town, excepting six individuals, joined

in the shouts of congratulation with which the proposal was received. Even the bishop Peter de la Beaume, a partisan of Savoy, but rather a weak than an ill-intentioned man, declared that he would oppose no impediment to the measure. On the 12th of May, 1526, a league was sworn between Berne and Geneva, for reciprocal aid, freedom of trade and intercourse, defence and protection of liberty and property. The allied towns answered the duke's remonstrances with the threat that they would secede from the alliance between Savoy and the Helvetic body. He was kept quiet besides by the apprehension of losing the Pays de Vaud, which lay so well within the reach of the Swiss, and which had been twice before conquered by them already.

The Genevans now labored to consolidate their freedom, to appropriate the rights of the duke to themselves, and to remodel the whole frame of their constitution. The adherents of Savoy were driven out of the town, their goods confiscated, and forty-four of them sentenced to death in case of return. The bishop was still tolerated, as long as he continued undecided, and appeared to incline in favor of the town. When he afterwards betrayed his leaning to Savoy, his authority, too, was speedily at an end. These events were viewed by the duke with powerless indignation; and the only signs of hostility which he ventured in return were the closing of all trade with the town, the reception of the exiles, and the capture and imprisonment of prior Bonnivard, a courageous and enlightened friend of freedom. Fear of the confederates deterred him from stronger measures. In the mean time a new enemy appeared against the town, in the shape of a league of the Savoyard nobility. Some of them, carousing in a castle of the Vaud, had boasted that they would sup the Genevans up like spoon-meat. This sally suggested the formation of a fraternity which took the name of the *spoon league*, and the members of which mounted a spoon as their badge in front of their hats. This league might probably meet with secret encouragement from the duke, but he dared not openly sanction, and had neither the power nor the will to prevent it. Shortly afterwards, when the head of this association was slain by the exasperated burghers of Geneva, a struggle arose of a very harassing nature for the town. On this the allies of Geneva took the field with 10,000 men. The members of the *spoon league* were no match for such a force: their castles were burned, their soldiers scattered, and nothing remained for themselves but submission.

Through Swiss mediation an armistice was concluded at St. Julian. Reciprocal guarantees of trade and intercourse were agreed upon. The duke guarantied peace on the part of his

subjects,—Berne and Freyburg stood securities for the tranquillity of Geneva. If the treaty should be broken by the duke or his subjects, possession of the Pays de Vaud might be taken by the governments of Berne and Freyburg. On the other hand, in case of its violation by Geneva, the former towns should be bound to take up arms against it. A considerable part of the war expenses was imposed on the duke, and in return his original rights over Geneva were restored to him. Thenceforwards the situation of the town was very precarious. The duke for the most part only fulfilled so much of the treaty as served his purpose, and scarcely concealed his thirst for revenge, which he watched for a safe occasion to gratify. On the other hand, the Swiss were tired of the league, and wished to secede from it. This determination was only altered by the most earnest supplications of the Genevans.

The bishop excommunicated the town; the town threw off the authority of the bishop; and the triumph of the new creed was decided. The images were destroyed by a spontaneous popular movement; and the council was persuaded by one Farel, subsequently a colleague of Calvin, to do away with the mass. The expulsion of the bishop, by which his intrigues were rendered harmless, was the most important step towards the attainment of freedom, and the reception of the reformed creed was the best means of retaining it; as the constant friendship of so powerful a neighbor as Berne was thus secured, by the double bond of policy and community of sentiment.

In defiance of the treaty of St. Julian, the Savoyard nobility and the banished episcopal partisans continued their hostilities against Geneva. The town was closely blockaded, and reduced to severe extremities. Traitorous plans were discovered for its capture. The enemy showed themselves daily before the gates, and devastated even the suburbs. Duke Charles viewed these incidents in silence, if, indeed, he did not secretly encourage them. This equivocal demeanor was imputed to him by Berne as a breach of the treaty of St. Julian. Certain it was, he had closed that treaty reluctantly enough, and had fulfilled it as indifferently as possible; his inactivity, however, during the hostile proceedings against Geneva, admitted of excuse on two grounds. The town had provoked his anger by the expulsion of their bishop, and the curtailment of his own ducal rights, and had given him a plausible pretext for evading the performance of his engagements. He was himself, besides, threatened with an attack on the side of France, and certainly had not the power, if he had even had the will, to keep within bounds the turbulence of his subjects. These extenuating circumstances were utterly overlooked, and no

thing was regarded but the outrages which had taken place; for Berne had resolved to turn the duke's embarrassments to her own advantage. All negotiations were fruitless; and Berne held a high and threatening language, demanding that the channels of trade should be opened; the banished Genevans expelled; the nobles of the Vaud kept in check. A truce of six months, desired by the duke in the consciousness of his weakness, was refused him. Charles declared, with the energy of despair, that he considered himself no further bound by treaties. Several weeks later he sought vainly to retrieve the effects of this precipitation by a special embassy, and formal list of charges against Geneva. Berne was fully determined upon war—the rest of the Helvetic body strongly against it; but Berne relied on the favorable sentiments of her own people.

On the 21st of January, 1536, 7000 Bernese marched into the Vaud, and in a few days the whole district fell into their hands. Even the lake of Geneva did not stop their triumphant progress. They took possession of the district of Gex, and, on the south of the lake, of a considerable portion of the dukedom of Chablais. Such rapid and important conquests, in the worst season of the year, excited attention and envy in the rest of the Helvetic body. The confederates recommended the abandonment of a war in which the emperor might so easily mix, to the detriment of the whole league. Berne acquiesced with facility in many of their demands; but in the main business resolutely adhered to her own purposes. The conquest of the Vaud was completed in 1554, by the ruin of the once-powerful counts of Gruyères, who found themselves compelled to cede their extensive landed domains to Berne and Freyburg for a moderate sum of money; and thus underwent the same doom which had successively reduced to nothing all the ancient houses within the bounds of the confederation.

The grasping spirit of Berne showed itself next in a dishonorable manner towards the Genevans. The latter had hoped for more than a mere transmission to her powerful ally of a sovereignty grounded in usurpation. It was death to their hopes, when Berne declared that all the powers of the dukes and bishops had descended into her hands by right of conquest! The main point was, however, given up after long discussion. A co-burghership between the *free towns* of Berne and Geneva was closed for five-and-twenty years in 1536, which was afterwards converted to a perpetual league of the same description.

Hardly had political independence been asserted, when its enjoyment was disturbed by religious discord; and that ascend-

ency which had been lost by dukes and bishops over Geneva was transferred to an itinerant preacher—JOHN CALVIN.

The second great reformer of the sixteenth century was born at Noyon in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509. His father, Gerard Chauvin, a cooper, devoted him at an early age to the clerical profession. Calvin, in a letter to Claude d'Hangest, abbot of St. Eloy at Noyon, avows himself indebted to the family of that prelate for early instruction and liberal education. When hardly twelve years old, he was appointed to a canonry in the cathedral of his native town; and, six years afterwards, to a parochial cure, which he soon exchanged for another. Thus Calvin had obtained several benefices, by aid of patrons, before his twentieth year, and before the termination of his studies at Paris. Here he made the acquaintance of a countryman, some years older than himself, Peter Robert Olivetan, from whom he received the first germs of the new religious doctrines, which had already begun to obtain diffusion in France: he was thereby induced to quit the field of theology for that of law, which he studied at Orleans, and afterwards at Bourges. In this he made rapid progress; and instructed himself at the same time in Greek under Melchior Volmar, a German, who confirmed him in the tendency to adventurous speculation, which had already been excited in his mind by Olivetan. In 1532 he returned to Paris, and gave up his benefices. In the same year he published a Latin commentary on the two books of Seneca, *De Clementiâ*, under the name of *Johannes Calvinus*, lengthened and latinized from *Jean Chauvin*, according to the taste of the times. In the following year he was forced to flee from Paris, having incurred suspicion, along with his friend Michael Cop, the rector of the university, on account of some discourses of the latter on the new doctrine. Calvin next betook himself to Du Tillet, canon of Angoulême, with whom he pursued the tranquil course of his studies, and began to collect materials for his work on Christian Doctrine. From thence he repaired to the court of Margaret queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I.; who, less from any decided attachment to the new creed than to science in general, protected men of learning whom their opinions had expelled from France. Here Calvin was well received, and formed the acquaintance of several men who in the sequel became useful to his party. He proceeded next to Basle, where he published his work on Christian Doctrine, *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*; the intention of which was to clear his slandered brethren from the charges brought against them, from political motives, of being turbulent anabaptists, having nothing in common with Luther. It would be quite beside our purpose to enlarge upon the points in which

he went farther than Luther, with regard to the topics of free-will, accountableness, and the merit of good works; we content ourselves with indicating a few of the bold deductions which he drew from his own principles. He not only contested the supremacy of the pope, but the authority of general councils. In his view neither bishop nor priest could be visible head of the church; and he acknowledged no other vows than baptismal ones, no other sacraments than baptism and the Lord's supper; nor did he regard even these as indispensable to salvation. Masses he deemed a desecration; saint-worship, idolatry. The preface to the above-mentioned work, which was addressed *Ad Christianissimum Regem quòd hic ei liber pro confessione fidei offertur*, had no effect in putting a stop to religious persecution in France; as the most Christian king, Francis I., was totally devoid of all enthusiasm, and actuated wholly by political motives. Calvin visited Italy, where he was favorably received by the duchess Renata, daughter of Louis XII. of France, and wife of Hercules d'Este; but was soon compelled to take to flight, and returned once more to Paris. Here, however, he could not remain in safety, and took his way to Basle through Geneva, where the reformed doctrines had now been established for some years, and where Farel was engaged in preaching them. Calvin united with this man; and soon received a commission from the government as a teacher of theology, to which he devoted himself exclusively, leaving pulpit oratory to Farel. But they speedily drew a host of powerful enemies on their shoulders, by some trifling deviations from the established ceremonial. Under their auspices leavened bread was used in the sacrament; the baptismal font was removed out of the church, and all festivals were abolished, excepting Sundays. These innovations were disapproved by the synod of Lausanne, and compliance with the decision of that body was enjoined on Calvin and Farel by the magistracy of Geneva: on their refusal, they were ordered to quit the town within three days, and took their departure accordingly in April, 1538. Thence they proceeded to Berne, from which place Calvin went to Strasburg, where admission had been gained by Bucer for Luther's doctrines ten years previously. Here he was appointed, through the influence of Bucer, to the professorship of theology; and, at the same time, obtained permission to establish a French church, which soon became considerable by the influx of refugees from France. It was here that he published his work on the Lord's Supper, in which he set himself as well to controvert Luther's opinion, who interpreted that sacrament in the literal sense, as that of Zwingli, who understood it figuratively. It was not till a

later period that he declared himself, without reservation, in favor of the latter doctrine.

Meanwhile Calvin's views were still directed towards Geneva; and his friends at length succeeded in effecting his recall. A deputation was sent from thence to Strasburg, expressly for the purpose of soliciting the magistracy of that town to restore their pastor to his flock. On his return, he laid before the council a set of regulations with regard to church discipline, which were implicitly adopted. In accordance with these, a consistory was permanently established, consisting half of clerical, half of lay members, to watch over the conservation of morals and pure doctrine. By this body every one was liable to be called to account for the most insignificant words or acts; and cases where ecclesiastical penalties seemed inadequate, were referred for animadversion to the council. Thus Calvin was, in some sort, made the arbiter of every act, and almost every thought of his fellow-countrymen. His spirit held exclusive sway in the council as in the consistory; and neither of these bodies ever failed to punish any one who ventured to oppose his measures. Thus a member of the magistracy was displaced and sentenced to two months' imprisonment, "because he was a man of irregular life, and connected with Calvin's enemies." In like manner Jacob Gruet was condemned to the block, for having written immoral verses and godless epistles, and for having conspired to overthrow the ordinances of the church.

The pious perseverance with which every excess and disorder was prosecuted and punished at Geneva occasioned popular tumults, and at last a regular revolt, which was followed by judicial executions. However great were the services of Calvin, in introducing republican manners and useful activity,—of which the effects, after the lapse of ages, are still visible in the industry and intellectual tone of Geneva,—yet he inflexibly enforced the rigorous maintenance of orthodoxy, the idea of which he transferred from the system in which he had grown up to that which he had later espoused. His influence procured the exile of Bolsec, an ex-Carmelite, for having dared to attack the doctrine of predestination. A still deeper disgrace was brought on the memory of Calvin by the execution of Michael Servetus (Servetus,) who suffered at the stake for holding anti-trinitarian tenets, which, however, he had not attempted to disseminate at Geneva. Calvin had, indeed, proposed a milder mode of death; but it is easier to set bigot zeal in motion than to moderate its subsequent violence.

The manners of the great Genevan reformer were marked by strict sobriety; his character was sombre and inflexible. His only idea of friendship was utility to his grand design; his

only passion was centred in the triumph of his opinions. His temper was impatient, and endured no contradiction. "None of my struggles," he wrote to Bucer, "against my other failings, many and great as they are, are equal to those which I have to wage with my temper; over this devouring beast I have not yet attained the mastery." The tone of his controversial writings was almost always sharp and contemptuous; and he seldom succeeds in suppressing his full consciousness of superiority. As a theologian, Calvin stood second to none of his contemporaries in depth of learning, acuteness, and the art of setting forth his subject. His Latin compositions are distinguished for method, correctness, and dignity: he was, moreover, an accomplished jurist, and able politician. But none of these advantages singly, nor all conjointly, would ever have raised him to the head of a distinct religious party, but for his bold rejection of outward ceremonial. It was this that, on the one hand, gained the support of many instructed persons, who were disposed to regard as derogatory all appeals to the senses, while it furnished the uninstructed with a compendious method of making out their difference from the opposite persuasion, independently of any essential ground of separation, to investigate which such disciples were neither willing nor able.

The effects of the reformation made themselves manifest in all the relations of private and public life. General attention was directed to the internal wants and welfare of the country; and the rising generation acquired taste for the arts of peace, and for the sciences by which the mind is most enlarged and elevated. The study of the ancients and of history had been revived by theological inquiries. If enlistments still continued to take place for foreign services, yet the venality of rulers and their subjects had ceased to be so prevalent as formerly. Improvements were made in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures; and the reception given to fugitive co-religionists introduced or furthered several branches of industry. Almshouses and hospitals were instituted or improved. Strict regulations were made against prodigality, gambling, and usury; and rigid limits were set to public amusements.

Under the name of ecclesiastical discipline, the clergy in Geneva and the canton of Berne assumed a very extensive jurisdiction. The clergy possessed important weight and influence with the people; and when they interfered in word or in writing with the constituted authorities, their *dicta* were in general received as decisive. Their intervention, as might be expected, was not in all cases free from polemical passions, or sacerdotal arrogance; but it oftener took an aspect of beneficence, particularly when the secular authorities neglected

their duties. The better part of the clergy themselves never lost sight of the evils engendered by an unlimited domination of their order.

The independence of the cantons, and the difference of their forms of polity, necessarily occasioned variations in their church discipline. These were taken advantage of by the enemies of reform, to reproach its friends with the want of a sure foundation for their faith. The subsequent evangelical leaders, harassed by the virulent attacks of their opponents, imagined the production of explicit confessions to be requisite for their justification. The four evangelical cantons, Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, and the three allied towns, St. Gall, Mülhausen, and Bienne, agreed upon a common form of confession, to be laid before the general assembly of the church when convoked by the emperor. In the same year (1566) Geneva also issued a confession, composed by Farel. Finally, on the 1st of March, 1566, the so called Helvetic confession was promulgated at Zurich, which was also received by the reformed churches in Scotland, Holland, and Hungary. Thus the successors of the first reformers, by holding fast the letter, often departed from the spirit of their great predecessors, thereby aggravating the schisms among Protestants, and disgracing themselves and their cause by persecution.

The reformed cantons made frequent, but for the most part ineffectual, intercessions for their oppressed co-religionists in France and Savoy. Numerous refugees from these countries found protection and support in Switzerland. Geneva became a city of refuge for persecuted Italians, and Zurich for the English, who fled from the tyranny of queen Mary.

The church of Rome, unable to withstand any longer the demands for reformation, even of Catholics themselves, had at last consented to open a council at Trent. The selection of this spot, on the borders of Italy, and within the bounds of the empire, gave assurance to the emperor, as well as to the pope, that no third party could establish a predominance there, and each of them expected to confirm his own ascendancy. Pope Paul III., with many expressions of sorrow that the Evil One had succeeded in enticing away a part of the confederates from the bosom of the church, exhorted them collectively to obedience to the council. The evangelical party replied that they had published their confession of faith; that they could not regard a council as impartial, which was subordinated entirely to the pope; but that, on the other hand, they were ready to conform themselves to whatever should be resolved in a free council, and according to the word of God. The absence of the Protestants disappointed the hope of bringing them back to subjection to the Romish church by the sentence

of the council, which was now forced to content itself with condemning all who rejected its doctrines. Many improvements of discipline were enacted by this body; but at the same time it riveted the fetters of belief, confirmed the papal authority in ecclesiastical matters, and encroached so far on the rights of secular rulers, that several Catholic states refused to submit to its decisions. Its reception by the Catholic cantons occasioned the reformed ones to be regarded by them more than ever as renegades and reprobates, while it served to increase the suspicions and embitterment of the latter. All sentiments of patriotism yielded to religious hatred, which constantly found new food for itself.

In former times the confederates had always maintained a jealous vigilance with regard to the pope, considered as a foreign power, and with regard to the clerical order in general, as instruments of that power. But now, the zeal of polemics, and the prevalent ideas of the duty of submissiveness to the spiritual authority, placed a part of the Helvetic body entirely at the command of their ecclesiastical superiors; and, by consequence, attached them to that line of foreign policy most conformable to clerical interests. At this epoch, cardinal Charles Borromeo exercised a distinguished influence in spiritual and political matters. Elevated at the age of three-and-twenty to the bishopric of Milan, and the dignity of cardinal, he felt an early vocation to the office of reformer of the Catholic clergy and church discipline; but his mind was so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of a dominant priesthood, that even the heads of the Catholic cantons were compelled to resist his proceedings. He powerfully contributed towards putting in execution the decrees of the council of Trent; he established at Milan a college for the bringing up of Swiss youth to the clerical profession; he induced the pope to keep a permanent nuncio in the Catholic cantons. His establishment of Jesuits at Lucerne was still more momentous in its influence on the public mind, and on education: while the effect produced by the Jesuits on the upper classes, was rivalled by that which the order of Capuchins exercised over the lower.

The first permanent nuncio, the bishop of Vercelli, a *protégé* of the cardinal Borromeo, brought about, in 1579, a league between the bishop of Basle and the seven Catholic cantons. This may be regarded as a sort of Catholic counterpart to the *Christian league* of Berne and Zurich, mentioned in a former chapter. The contracting parties promised each other aid in the affairs of religion, &c. The seven cantons engaged to retain in the Catholic faith such subjects of the bishop as had not yet abandoned it, and to use their endeavors in re-converting those who had apostatized. In 1586, the so called Borromean,

or *golden league*, was sworn by the seven Catholic cantons, the provisions of which were similar to those of the foregoing one, with the addition of the following clause:—*That, in case of individual members manifesting any inclination to desert the faith, the others should compel them to abide by it, and visit the promoters of defection with condign punishment.*

A ludicrous example of the length to which distrust of Rome was carried by the Protestant party was afforded by the controversy excited on the occasion of the reform of the Julian calendar. Astronomers had reckoned that the Julian calendar, which, after every three years, each containing 365 days, introduced an intercalary year of 366, had produced, in the year 1582, a miscalculation amounting to ten days, thus gradually disturbing the uniformity and correctness of the measure of time; as, according to more accurate observations, the year contained about twelve minutes less. Pope Gregory XIII. commenced his reform of the calendar by striking off ten days from the year 1582. The Catholic cantons adopted this arrangement, after Unterwalden had offered some objections to it. The Protestants, on the other hand, conceived an apprehension lest the reception of a calendar decreed by the pope, and named after him, might pave the way for future papal encroachments; and lest their compliance might wear the appearance of deference to a papal mandate. The Catholic cantons not only adopted the Gregorian calendar, but enjoined its observance on the free bailiwicks, and instructed the vogts to punish recusants. Irritated by this mode of proceeding, Zurich turned the affair into a question of religion: the greatest ferment, however, was in the Thurgau. The two religious parties had now not only different feast days, but confusion took place on market days, and other civic arrangements. After the waste of much discussion on the matter at successive diets, the neutral cantons, in concert with the French ambassador, finally concluded an arrangement, by which the regulation of the calendar was committed to each canton within the bounds of its own territory.

Geneva continued still the object of undisguised abhorrence to the leaders of the Catholic hierarchy, and of hostility more dangerous, because more concealed, to the reigning duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel. The town reposed in false security, heedless of the warnings given from time to time against its crafty neighbor, whose policy rejected no expedient which could forward his purposes. Even the notices received of the near approach of the enemy were treated with contempt or carelessness. On the night of the 11th–12th December, 1602, 2000 troops of Savoy advanced unperceived on the town, and the duke himself hovered in the neighborhood. Before three in

the morning, the walls had already been scaled by 200 of them, who made an attempt to burst open the new gate from the inside, while estafettes were sent off to announce the capture of the town. The burghers, taken by surprise as they were, and half naked, nevertheless rushed to arms with alacrity, slew seventy-six of the Savoyards, and took thirteen prisoners, whom they afterwards hanged as brigands and assassins. The rest endeavored to save themselves by leaping from the walls; and the discomfited troops hastened to Bonne, where the duke was awaiting their triumph. "*Vous avez fait là une belle cagade*" were the words he used to D'Aubigny, the leader of the expedition. A Savoyard embassy, sent to Berne to excuse this treacherous inroad, received an intimation from the government that they had better retreat as quick as they could from the popular indignation. Terms of peace were, however, at length negotiated by the neutral cantons, which provided for free intercourse betwixt Geneva and Savoy, and precluded the duke from stationing any garrison at a distance within sixteen miles from the town. This affair has preserved, under the title of *the escalade*, a memorable station in Swiss history.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

1620—1648.

Description of the Grisons.—Early History.—Forms of Government.—Influence of particular Families.—Spanish and French Parties.—Popular Tumults—Massacre in the Valteline.—Fruitless Negotiations with Spain and Austria.—Subjection of the Grisons by the latter Power.—Recovery of their Freedom and Independence.—State of Religious Parties in Switzerland.—Thirty Years' War.—Disunion in the Confederacy.—Inroads of Foreign Armies.—Intrigues of Foreign Ambassadors.—Peace of Westphalia.—Declaration of Swiss Independence.—Foreign Relations.—Fragmentary State of Knowledge in Switzerland.

"WITH the close of the reformation," says a respectable Swiss annalist,* "expires almost all that can animate and enliven the historian of Switzerland. He has now to wade through a dull period, equally void of original records as it is of events worthy to be recorded: under such circumstances, the task of writing the history of his country becomes as great a burden as it was previously a pleasure. It is true, that the age immediately preceding the reformation was by no means very honorable to Switzerland; still it was an age of unexhausted national vigor. The era of the reformation elevates

* J. Conrad Vögelin.

the mind by the spectacle of the triumph of enlightenment over darkness; but later times show little else than discord and degeneracy. The history of the Swiss, from the foundation of their freedom to the overthrow of their old *eternal* league, may be said to resemble their mountain heights, the base of which exhibits smiling and fertile fields and valleys, the middle region wild but majestic ridges,—from thence to the summit lifelessness and ruin."

Without identifying our sentiments with those of the author here cited, we must agree with him that the history of the old Helvetic body (so far as progressive development is included in the idea of history) may in some sense be considered to close with the age of the reformation. And, perhaps, a gentle wish may unreprieved escape the tip of our pen, that for the space of nearly two centuries, ourselves, as well as our readers, might be allowed to indulge in unmolested slumber, till aroused by the first mutters of a mighty social change, which (like the hollow sounds preceding the fall of the Rossberg) foreboded the first outbreak of the French revolution. True, the intervening space is occupied with warfare and diplomacy in abundance; but diplomacy is a sharper's game, and war an inglorious squabble, save when sanctified by national feelings and interests. It will be some relief to deviate for the present from the main track of our history into those remoter regions which have hitherto received less of our notice, and to resume the course of events which raised the highlanders of Rhetia to the rank, first of allies, and afterwards members of the Swiss league.

The scenery of Switzerland Proper, with the exception of the lakes, does not bear away the prize of varied beauty from the vales of the Grisons, where nature has been lavish of her loftiest style of ornament. Rocky battlements frown upon the narrow path of the traveller, or indent the distant horizon with their fainter hues and outlines. Life or living thing haunts not their summits; sound and motion there are none but of the glacier-stream from its icy reservoir, or the avalanche rolling in thunder over fissures and abysses, or the clouds that fleet or lower upon the breasts of the mountains, whose summits glitter high above their region in the sunlight. Lower down, the Alpine meadows, spotted with flocks and shepherds' huts, repose in primitive stillness and simplicity. No suspicion penetrates these pastoral solitudes of the progress of human intellect, or the arts of modern luxury. Lower still, lie smiling villages, half enveloped in thickets, cheerful country houses, with their pleasure grounds and vineyards, and scattered hamlets, seeming to mock the vicinage of the knightly towers whose ruins have frowned from their rocky site for centuries.

The modes of thought and degrees of civilization in these highlands are as various as the features of their scenery. There are few countries of Europe in which circumstances have coincided to produce such a motley mixture of manners and of usages: the very form of the valleys, by which one set of inhabitants is divided from the rest as though in separate apartments, conduces not a little to the same effect. Local and communal rights oppose impediments to the settlement of strangers, and the natives themselves are counted strangers in every valley but their own. Marriages are rare between inhabitants of distant valleys; and a certain set of habits and ideas, with their accompanying propensities and prejudices, are faithfully transmitted from one century to another.

But even if this insulated mode of life, together with varieties of climate, were not enough to stamp the traits of separate populations on the different inhabitants of these highland glens, that effect would be produced by their diversities of language, which in general draw the strongest lines of national demarcation. There is no doubt that the people of the Grisons sprung from several sources. First of all, some branches of the original Gaulish stem occupied these regions under the name of Lepontii and Taurisci: afterwards, the wars of the Gauls in Italy occasioned emigrations out of Tuscany. The valleys of the Lepontii and Taurisci afforded refuge to thousands from the horrors of war, and the rage of barbarians. According to the legend preserved by Livy, the fugitives were headed by one Rhætus, whose name became transferred to the people. Even at the present day there are traces to be found which confirm the authenticity of this legend. Above all, the old Italian language is traceable up to our own times under the title of the *Romanisch* or *Romaunsch*. This dialect is unquestionably an offspring of the Roman language, not of the days of Augustus, but of earlier times and ruder districts.

A second dialect, spoken in the Engadines at the present day, is the Ladin, which, though related to the former, is more musical, and more nearly approaching to the Latin or modern Italian. This seems to have been imported by a new body of emigrants, who are said to have fled thither in the time of the second Punic war. Thus there are two languages in the Grisons, unknown in any other part of Europe. Both have been used by preachers, writers, and poets; and the districts where they are spoken are precluded by that circumstance from intercourse with others, more than even by their walls of rock.

A third language spoken in the country is the German, which has always been used exclusively, with the exception

of Latin, in courts of justice, and which has already, in a great measure, superseded both the others.

A fourth is the Italian, which prevails on the borders of Italy, and particularly in the valleys of Misocco, Salanca, and Puschiavo.

The effects of the foregoing causes were aided by the influence of political arrangements in converting every valley of the Grisons into the residence of a separate population, each having little in common with the others. After the revolution in the fifteenth century, which gave freedom to these mountainous districts, the people rose at once to absolute sovereignty from a state of feudal bondage and subjection. The highest possible degree of individual freedom lay at the foundation of the new constitution; and the popular passion for unrestrained free agency was favored by the variety of languages and localities.

Thus arose the Rhetian league, a federative system without precedent or parallel in the history of the civilized world. Each individual member of it was a little lord in his own commune. He gave his voice on all public occasions; was capable of every public function; provided sparingly for the maintenance of his clergy and his schoolmasters, and generally not at all for that of the civil authorities. Every little knot of families formed a hamlet; every hamlet might be regarded as a small independent state, with its peculiar jurisdictions, rights, and privileges; each had its own local administration, under the presidency of a magistrate called *Cuvig*. Several hamlets together formed a *commune*, in which, however, the separate rights of each were made matter of reservation. At the head of it stood the *amman*, who presided over the council and courts of justice, conducted the general government in the name of the commune, and represented his little republic in the general diets of the league, after his commune had supplied him with the necessary instructions.

A circle of neighboring communes, without prejudice to their separate rights, formed a higher and more extensive jurisdiction. A landamman, who in some places bore the title of Podesta, and in others that of Land-vogt, held the executive power with the concurrence of a council. Each of these districts formed a republic equally independent with any of the Swiss cantons, with this difference, that it constituted, along with other districts of like extent, a *league* empowered to negotiate with foreigners. Rhetia was divided into three such leagues in the fifteenth century, and from thence was derived its title of the *Three Leagues*, distinguished as the *League of the Ten Jurisdictions*, that of *God's House*, and the *Gray League*. Each of these was connected with the rest by spe-

cial treaties. Each had its own general assembly, were represented in a general assembly or diet, took place once a year, excepting in extraordinary cases the interim a congress of the presidents of the diet conducted the current affairs of minor importance.

Thus the art of man strove to bring the rude and Nature in moulding the Rhodans into a nation of populations, which had neither climate, language, laws, nor feelings in common. That no republic might be wanting to complete dissension, religion threw an apple of discord into the rocky mass; and foreign powers speedily took advantage of the schism which arose between the reformed and Catholic churches.

Since the epoch of the battle of Pavia, which put in possession of Milan and all Lombardy, that court continually, though secretly, to extend its dominion over the territory of the Valteline, in order to connect the Tyrol a closer and more uninterrupted communication with Austria, from whence Spain, in the existing state of the country, could only receive aids or reinforcements at Milan. The Spanish viceroy at Milan seized every pretext for multiplying the transactions of the Valteline, where religious differences produced perpetual differences. For since the Grisons had permitted the free exercise of the evangelical persuasion, many of the communes had espoused the reformation, and much dissension and discord was the consequence.

The king of France, as the enemy of Austria and of Spain, warned the Grisons of the secret views of the two continental powers; and these warnings were re-echoed by the Venetians, who had reason to fear encroachments from the same quarter. Venice, France, and Spain sent ambassadors to the Grisons, who were lavish of fair words and presents to the heads of the leading houses, who, notwithstanding the nominal sovereignty and self-government of the people, practically directed political affairs by their personal influence. Of the two most influential families, Planta and Salis, the former headed the Spaniards, the latter the French party. Each side was accused by the other of treasonable practices, and each endeavored to subvert the communes in its own favor. These, at length, assembled round their banners, and set up a criminal tribunal at Coire, for the trial of (so called) traitors to their country. Thereupon, as commonly takes place in popular tumults, innocent and guilty were alike imprisoned, exiled, or robbed of their property; and two individuals, holding eminent stations brought to the block. The evangelical clergy industriously employed themselves in blowing up the sparks of civil discord.

They spread the report that the viceroy of Milan had sent large sums into the country to promote the Spanish cause, and that, in case of ill success in that undertaking, he had resolved to throw the Valteline into confusion, fall on the Protestants, and celebrate a new St. Bartholomew by the effusion of the whole evangelical party. These reports, which were too soon to be verified, produced the desired effect throughout the country. Rudolf Planta was compelled to fly to the Engadine into the Tyrol. A criminal tribunal was constituted under the auspices of a set of Protestant preachers, who pronounced numerous sentences of outlawry and condemnation, banished some from the country, and brought others to the block.

The banished party leagued itself with Spain, Milan, and Austria in a treacherous plot for massacring the Protestants in the Valteline, and for separating that district from the Grisons. The subjection and oppression under which it labored, and the natural aversion entertained by its inhabitants for the reformed religion, which was favored by its rulers, held out hopes of a favorable issue to the enterprise. The conspirators secured a numerous body of adherents in the Valteline, and even in the Grisons, collected under various pretences on the frontier, and waited the auspicious moment for action. On Sunday, the 1st of July, 1620, these bands, led by Rudolf and Pompey Planta, fell by surprise on the unfortunate district. Alarums sounded from all sides, and a massacre of many hundred Protestants ensued, marked with circumstances of exquisite atrocity. Some were thrown out of windows, shot, strangled, or burned; many were flayed alive; others had their eyes put out; others again were beaten to death with sticks, torn to pieces, beheaded, or mutilated in various ways. Neither beauty nor youth, age, deserts, or dignity,—not even the ties of friendship nor of family affection,—could mitigate the rage of these savage zealots. One fellow is said to have made it matter of boast that he had murdered eighteen persons in one day. The head of an evangelical preacher was brought into his own church, stuck on the pulpit, and mocked, it is said, in the same words as the crucified Jesus. At Teglio, the Protestants having shut themselves up in the church, the murderers climbed up to the windows and fired on the wretches within: at length the doors were forced, and those who had fallen were to be envied in comparison with those who came alive into the hands of their enemies. The victorious zealots seized with blood-dripping hands the reins of government, and declared the independence of the Valteline.*

* For a full description of these scenes, see Fox's Book of Martyrs.

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It was the Austrian and Spanish policy rather to prompt than repress these horrors, with the view of taking advantage of the general confusion to possess themselves of the Valteline, —perhaps of the whole of the Grisons. Negotiations were opened with these courts, in the vain hope of inducing them to part with the posts and passes which they occupied in the Valteline. They were found, however, less disposed to part with what they had got, than to appropriate Chiavenna and Bormio, as well as the lower Engadine, in order to keep a passage open between Milan and the Tyrol, for mutual aid against the French in Italy and Germany. As the negotiations soon became too tedious for the patience of the people in many communes of the Grisons, the peasantry took to arms in a tumultuary manner, and marched on Bormio and the Valteline, to conquer the land on their own account, but effected nothing by their enterprise, excepting that they exasperated the archduke of Austria, who, exclaiming, “If you *will* have war, you *shall* have it!” marched a body of troops into the Grisons. After an obstinate but fruitless struggle, the insurgents were compelled to yield to the overwhelming force of the Austrians, who reclaimed their old hereditary sovereignty over the league of the Ten Jurisdictions, while the two other leagues were forced to agree that the troops of Spain and Austria should in all future time be allowed free passage through their territory.

The French monarch could not acquiesce in an arrangement which allowed the Austrians entrance at any moment into Italy, and established their ascendancy so completely in that country. He closed an alliance, accordingly, in 1623, with the pope, Venice, and Savoy, and marched an army through Switzerland into the Grisons. Berne and Zurich allowed his troops free passage through their territories, and the emigrants from the Grisons formed the vanguard of his army. On its advance, it was joyfully joined by the mass of the armed population; the garrisons of Austria were driven out of the Ten Jurisdictions, and possession was taken of Chiavenna, Bormio, and the Valteline. These territories, which had formerly been subject to the league, were freed from its jurisdiction in the treaty of peace dictated by France, and shortly afterwards acceded to on the part of Spain and Austria. But so soon as peace was again broken between France and Spain, and hostilities were recommenced in Italy, the emperor marched 40,000 men into the Grisons so suddenly, that no defence was possible. A part of the army was detached to the aid of the Spaniards into Lombardy, while the rest remained to overawe the Grisons. The Ten Jurisdictions, along with the lower Engadine, became once more the subject land of Austria.

This apparently hopeless aspect of affairs was suddenly al-

tered by the peace closed between France and the emperor at Cherasco, by the terms of which the latter engaged to withdraw his troops from the Grisons. So soon as the Austrian garrisons were drawn off and their works demolished, the whole people joyfully resumed their ancient league, and posted 3000 men under arms on the frontiers of the country. After the land had thus been freed from foreign domination, the inhabitants addressed humble petitions to France and Spain for leave to retain peaceably their newly-recovered territory. Accordingly, a treaty of perpetual peace between Spain and the Grisons was closed in 1639, at Milan, in virtue of which the sovereignty of the Grison league was fully re-established in Bormio, Chiavenna, and the Valteline, with the single proviso that the Catholic church should retain its exclusive rights in these districts—a proviso which precisely coincided with the wishes of the Catholic communes. In this manner good neighborhood was restored with the house of Austria, while Gustavus Adolphus furnished that house with fighting enough in Germany; so that it was well content to retain its allowed prerogatives in the Engadine and within the Ten Jurisdictions, without further attempts to restore an antiquated sovereignty. Ten years had hardly elapsed before these districts purchased the jurisdiction which Austria still retained in their territory. Thus the Grisons became free and independent, along with the two other leagues in Upper Rætia.

Though the treaties and campaigns of the Grisons had supplied the Swiss cantons with matter in abundance for discussions and discourses in diets and council-rooms, they had given birth to no distinguished enterprise for the vindication of Rætian independence. This resulted from the state of continual discord kept up between the several cantons. If the reformed cantons wished to act, they were thwarted by the Catholics; if the Catholic would have been active, the Protestants were sure to oppose themselves: the former sided with Spain and Austria, the latter with France and Venice. The one took gold from one party, the other from the other, and closed treaties and sent soldiers to serve under the standards of those foreign powers to which they had attached themselves; a practice which, while it enriched particular families, impoverished and orphaned others.

In the free bailiwicks, where the power lay between Catholics and Protestants, the two persuasions quarrelled everlastingly. Although in the terms of the general pacification, both parties in these vogtships enjoyed equal freedom of worship; yet the enjoyment of this privilege was embittered to the Catholics by the reformed vogts, and, on the other hand, by the Catholic vogts to the Protestants. Ecclesiastics mixed them-

selves up, as usual, in the matter. The bishop of Basle, supported by the emperor, as long as his arms were victorious in Germany, demanded of Mühlhausen and Basle restitution of all the property of his monastery, which he had lost long ago. The abbot of St. Gall reclaimed larger jurisdictions in the Thurgau and the Rheinthal than could equitably be given him; the abbot of Einsiedlen maintained, in opposition to Schwytz, a right of taxing the forest lands; the abbot of Fischinger wished to erect a Catholic altar in the reformed church at Lustorf. Each of these reverend dignitaries found partisans as well as assailants. And more than once it had nearly come to civil war in Switzerland, which was only withheld from breaking out by the fear of the advantage which would be taken of it by foreigners. For at this crisis the thirty years' war, which originated between Catholics and Protestants in Bohemia, had not only spread over Germany, but involved in the sphere of its ravages Sweden and Italy, Spain, France, and Hungary. This war had been begun about matters of faith; but it was carried on for the acquisition of territory. French and Venetians, Spaniards and Austrians, in turn, negotiated for passages through the mountain passes of the Grisons, or solicited the alliance of the confederates; and the armies of the belligerent powers, when they drove each other from battle-field to battle-field on German ground, often skirted very narrowly the borders of Switzerland. But the confederates, in the consciousness of internal weakness and discord, had no desire, in addition to the evils which they already endured, to see the swords of foreigners in their valleys. They, therefore, prudently maintained the neutrality and territory of Switzerland inviolate. But so great was their disunion that they hindered each other in the protection of their common domains and allies. When the allied town of Mühlhausen came into peril by the incursions of the Swedish and imperial troops, Zurich and Berne sent forces for its protection; but when the Bernese would have marched through the passes of Soleure, the guards refused a passage, and sounded an alarm. The land-vogts of Soleure surrounded the troops of Berne, fired on them, cut them down, killed many of their number, and disarmed the rest. Soleure was, indeed, forced to give heavy compensation, and some of the offenders were condemned to death, others to banishment; but hatred and distrust were not to be mitigated by legal proceedings. Shortly afterwards, when the Swedish marshal Horn, in order to surprise the Austrian garrison of Constance, had forced a way for his troops through the town of Stein, in the Thurgau, belonging to Zurich, the Catholic members of the confederacy upbraided the reformers with favoring Sweden to the preju-

dice of the emperor. Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and Zug, by way of counterpoise, marched 3000 of their troops on the Lake of Constance. But this occasioned the instant arming of Zurich; and a menace on the part of that canton, that her forces should immediately combine with those of Sweden if the Catholic confederates made common cause with Austria.

Soon afterwards the imperialists at Schaffhausen infringed on the Swiss territory, as the Swedes had done at Stein. The men of Schaffhausen, indeed, took up arms; and some troops of Zurich marched out of the Thurgau to their assistance: but the measures taken were tardy, feeble, and isolated. The villages of Bârgen, Altdorf, Beggüigen, Varzheim, and Schleithelm were partly sacked and burnt by the imperialists. The peasants, however, banded themselves with good success against the invaders; while the panic-struck government of Schaffhausen only exchanged epistolary volleys with the imperial marshals.

Nevertheless, the troops of Austria made repeated incursions on the territory of Basle, and scoffed at the defensive preparations of the Helvetic body.

It was often, indeed, insisted upon at diets, that the holy and inviolable rights of the Swiss soil called loudly for a standing force on the frontiers. But the people of the interior cantons said that those on the frontiers might take care of themselves, and exclaimed against the expense of a standing army. Every one was willing to have the benefits of a federal union; but none would sacrifice any thing to preserve them. Moreover, the ambassadors of foreign powers interfered, as usual, either in an imperative style, or by means of secret intrigue and insidious counsel: and, even in minute and near concerns, the confederates had not always the spirit to counteract their influence.

At this time many strangers roamed into Switzerland from the seat of war in Italy and Germany. Adventurers and fugitives excited the people against the authorities, in order to take advantage of the public confusion. These unserviceable vagrants were so numerous, that in one day 100 of them were counted at Schwytz, and at least sixfold that number in the county of Baden. The land was rendered quite unsafe, until rigor was used against them. At Bremgarten, 236 malefactors were sentenced to death within a single year. Such severities struck a salutary terror into those birds of passage.

The country was, however, less relieved by the sword of justice than by the conclusion of the general peace of Westphalia, after a thirty years' war, between the principal European powers. This treaty, which restored the tranquillity of Europe, concerned itself besides with the relations of the

Helvetic body. That body, which had once formed a portion of the German empire, had for ages ceased to consider itself dependent on the imperial government, to the support of which it was neither called to contribute men nor money. The only remaining vestige of dependence was the formal confirmation of their franchises, from time to time renewed to the confederates by the emperor. The Swabian war, the design of which had been to reduce the Swiss to their original subservience to the empire, missed its aim; but the claims of the empire were never entirely abandoned. Occasional encroachments on the Helvetic body took place,—in particular through the agency of the court of the imperial chamber. But now the Swiss ambassador succeeded in obtaining the insertion of a clause into the treaty of Westphalia, which formally, and for ever, declared the absolute independence and separation of the lands of the confederacy from the German empire. So that Switzerland offers, perhaps, the single example of a country, the political self-existence of which had never been acknowledged till the energetic epochs of that existence had been long past, and till it no longer possessed strength to defend, without the aid of foreigners, its tardily acknowledged independence.

The foreign relations of Switzerland at this period enriched, as we have seen, individual families, but in no degree conduced to the well-being of the country. The councils of the Helvetic body were continually occupied with regulations regarding the enlistments in foreign services. About this time nearly 25,000 Swiss were in the pay of foreigners.

The distresses and embarrassments of various descriptions, incident to the warlike times of which we have been treating, had unfavorable effects upon the culture of science. An artificial taste, as well in thought as in style, became prevalent. Astrology, and faith in supernatural signs, in general retained their hold almost universally. As men imagine easily enough that they see and hear that which they desire should be imparted to them, or that which they are at any time engrossed with, swords and other appearances in the heavens were often visible. How fragmentary and limited in those times was the knowledge possessed even by distinguished men, may be judged by the fact, that one of the most eminent Swiss diplomatists, employed in the Westphalian negotiation, was obliged to ask the French plenipotentiary, Longueville, whether French troops could not go by land to Portugal without being obliged to pass through Spain!

CHAPTER XVI. THE PEASANT WAR.

1653—1656.

Insurrection of the Peasantry in Berne, Lucerne, Soleure, and Basle.

THERE was very little harmony in the sentiments with which the declaration of Helvetic independence was received in different parts of the confederacy. Many viewed the matter with indifference, and regarded it, though only recently recognized, as something which had long been possessed. Political emancipation brought about no respite of religious dissension; and new matter of embroilment was now added to the old feud between Catholics and Protestants.

Much discontent prevailed at this time among the country people of more than one of the cantons, that many valleys remained in feudal servitude, or at least were still subject to feudal burdens. When these people compared their own condition with that of Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden, whose inhabitants were subject to no laws and no authority but such as they had given themselves, and to no taxes but such as they themselves had imposed, they felt the more deeply their own condition as purchased bondsmen and subjects of the towns, liable to taxes and imposts without their own consent being asked, and loaded with laws and duties without their wishes being consulted. But they felt still more vexation on being forced to yield, in all points, to proud land-vogts, and rapacious men in office; when they were struck for mere trifles, ill-treated, and incarcerated, or impoverished by exorbitant and arbitrary fines. Complaints against influential and official men were of little use, and had often fatal results to the complainant; as relations of the land-vogts, for the most part, sat in the government. Nay, even secretaries, sub-vogts, and inferior officers, acted as if they might persecute and plague the boors with impunity. Yet, as the evil was not everywhere felt equally, and many just and good functionaries still were to be found in the land, every thing for a while remained quiet.

It was not, however, only in the free bailiwicks that the people had long complained of the oppressions and extortions of many among the land-vogts and other functionaries, particularly those from the democratic cantons,—but even in the immediate domains of the ruling towns an oppressive system of government was introduced, which was rendered yet more burdensome by arbitrary assumptions. Actual necessities, and the example of larger states, had occasioned the imposition of new taxes; and, since the recognition of Swiss independence, many men in office considered themselves to stand in a more

elevated position with regard to those whom they looked upon as their subjects. Frequent complaints were made of severe corporal punishments, of exorbitant and arbitrary fines,—sometimes even of actual snares being set for wealthy persons. An aristocratic government is tottering towards its fall, when those who preside in it have lost the power, or the will, to keep in check the malversations of the official tools under them.

When the government of Berne made an effort to improve its currency by excluding the small coins of other cantons from its territory, and lowered by one half the nominal value of its own batzen, discontent was spread throughout the whole canton; the more so as the poorer classes suffered most by the change. The people held assemblies in the villages; and every one brought his own particular wrong to swell the aggregate. One complained of the tyranny of the land-vogt, another of the government salt-monopoly, a third of that of gunpowder, a fourth of the corporation restrictions, a fifth of the feudal burdens,—one and all of the contempt of justice. The more the people spoke, the more their heads became heated.

Such was the moment selected by the government of Lucerne to lower the value of its batzen in like manner. Upon this the commune of Entlibuch sent delegates to the town, and prayed that either the coin should be left at its original value, or that agricultural produce should be taken in payment instead of it. But their petition was so harshly received, that they returned home in a state of great discouragement. This heightened the existing discontent; and when the collectors made their appearance, they were driven back with insult. On this the avoyer Dulliker came to Entlibuch, accompanied by secular and spiritual dignitaries, to remonstrate with the elders of the communes. But the able-bodied men from all the villages now gathered together, armed with spears and clubs, bearing in their van a white banner, followed by three youths who blew alp-horns; and behind them three others in old Swiss costume, representing the men of Rutli; and, lastly, the whole body, 1400 strong. In this order the procession arrived at Dorf, where the delegates of the towns were assembled: and here was renewed the clamor about the calling in of the coinage, the raised interest of money, the fines imposed by the land-vogts, &c.; so that the delegates could effect nothing, but made their way back to the town. But the country people held assemblies, posted guards, searched all travellers, encouraged the neighboring subjects of Berne to join them; and the ten bailiwicks of the district swore to a solemn league at Wollhausen.

When matters became thus serious, the six Catholic cantons

sent ambassadors to offer mediation. But when these met the delegates of the ten jurisdictions at Willisau, who had committed to writing seven-and-twenty articles of grievance, the tumults recommenced among the peasantry; the confederate envoys were arrested and placed under strict guard; the principal passes towards the town were occupied; and Lucerne itself was threatened with an inroad. But the lesser cantons speedily dispatched 400 men to garrison and defend the town: Zurich and Berne likewise commenced warlike preparations. When this became known to the people of the ten jurisdictions, their courage fell; they liberated the captive envoys, and begged for their mediation: which was equitably afforded them in the shape of a written award, which smoothed over the principal grounds of dispute between the parties.

While all was now supposed to be settled, the storm broke out afresh in the canton of Berne, from Thun as far as the town of Brugg: for when the government here attempted to call the country people out against those of Lucerne, they answered, "No, we will not march against our brothers; for we have as many rights to reclaim, and wrongs to complain of, as they!" In all the villages, clamor and disorder had the upper hand. Every one would command—no one obey. Berne invoked the aid of the confederacy to quell this insurrection. Schaffhausen, Basle, and Mulhausen sent military aid instantly. Zurich and Lucerne, however, advised friendly arbitration; to which the government of Berne at length acceded. Before they had come to any understanding, the forces of Schaffhausen had entered the Bernese territory at Brugg, those of Basle and Mulhausen at Aarau. This embittered the people in the Aargau; and a levy *en masse* was proclaimed throughout the whole county of Lentzburg.

The disturbance now took an aspect of importance. The peasants besieged the castles of the land-vogts; sent commissioners to the government of Berne; and even had recourse for foreign succors to Laberde, the French ambassador. This step did grievous injury to their cause; for the ambassador himself betrayed their overtures; and the hearts of many well-intentioned persons were now turned from them, since they had sought foreign arbitrement in the cause of their native country. Many persons, especially among the wealthier class, preserved their allegiance to the constituted authorities: these were nick-named *soft*, and the antagonist party *hard* ones. Many adherents of the governments had their beards, others their ears, cut off. In the district of Basle, a person of that description had his ear cut off and placed in his hand, with the remark, that he was now indeed an *ear-bearer* (tale-bearer). The heads of others were held close to grindstones, which

were then set in motion, so that hair and scalp came off together; in order, as it was said, to *harden them*.

In the mean time appeared delegates from the six reformed cantons in Berne, in order to bring to a friendly arbitration all disputes between the authorities and their subjects. The commissioners of the revolted communes co-operated for this purpose: and it was finally decided that the government should retain the salt-monopoly—the subject the right of freely purchasing salt for his private use wherever he chose; that corporate restrictions should be abolished; the batzen remain still at a depreciated value, &c. All this and more being satisfactorily settled, the commissioners of the communes sued for pardon on their knees before the town-council of Berne, and all seemed peaceably adjusted.

But the peasantry in Lucerne now raised a new clamor, and said they could not acknowledge their league of Wollhausen as punishable, as it was treated in the recent declaration. They also sent forth emissaries to the subjects of the other cantons, who everywhere proclaimed that they would no longer be vassals of the towns, but free people, as those of the lesser cantons were. The people in the Aargau and the Emmenthal joined them; and upbraided the commissioners who had prostrated themselves before the council of Berne, and had accepted the agreement. In the cantons of Soleure and Basle, also, many country people rose and avowed their adhesion to the men of Lucerne, Emmenthal, and Aargau. In the Sumiswald they held land-assemblies, and elected Nicholas Leuenberger, a countryman of Schönholz, to preside over the league of the four cantons of Lucerne, Berne, Basle, and Soleure.

As in the old times the counts and barons had freed themselves from the power of the emperor, and had asserted their own hereditary jurisdiction in their domains; and as, at a later date, the large towns of Switzerland, favored by fortune and by circumstances, had purchased emancipation from the power of the old counts and barons; so the subject peasants were now in arms to vindicate a share of freedom equal to that of the towns. But their enterprise was calculated badly. These furious mobs neither went to work with the pious uprightness and strict union displayed of old by the men of the forest cantons, nor with the prudence and deliberate resolution of the towns. They were rude, unknowing people, inexperienced in state affairs, mistrustful of each other, and each sharper set on his own than on the general advantage. They listened with more willingness to ranting declaimers than to the counsel of intelligent men; and they were very soon found to be

divided among themselves, and prepared for every species of extravagance.

Meanwhile the towns prepared themselves to quell the revolvers, while they continued to negotiate with them in order to gain time: yet Berne and the diet at Baden meant more fairly by the people. Many conferences were planned or held with the delegates of the insurgents; but no treaty could be brought to bear with furious hordes, on whose resolutions no sort of dependence could be placed from day to day.

All overtures being in vain, Zurich, then the principal canton, summoned the whole confederate forces into the field. Berne called out the troops of the Pays de Vaud,—which, by its language, had been held apart from the cause of the German subjects,—and nominated Sigismund of Erlach to the command. He had about 10,000 men under his orders. From the Catholic cantons came about 5000, led by the colonel Zueyer; the rest of the confederates, to the number of 10,000, were commanded by the Zurich field-marshal Wertz Müller. The free peasantry of the lesser cantons stoutly supported the towns in asserting their cause against the revolted populace; for they, too, were possessed of subject bailiwicks.

However the revolvers also were speedily under arms. But they had neither heavy artillery nor military stores, nor discipline, nor leaders of experience; since the posts of command had hitherto been exclusively held by burghers.

As soon as Leuenberger, the chief of the leagued burghers, Schybi, Ulli Galli, and the other heads of the insurrection, saw that the game would be played in earnest, they endeavored to put the best face on their perilous enterprise, partly by airs of defiance, partly by renewed negotiations. From his camp at Ostermundigen, a league from Berne, where his troops robbed and plundered all around them, Leuenberger once more wrote to Berne to propose a peaceable settlement of the contest. The council at Berne, to avoid the shedding of blood, actually sent ambassadors to the insurgents; and offered a large subsidy of 15,000*l.* to the peasants: not, however, as an indemnity for their war expenses, but as succor and relief to their poverty. The insurgent delegates finally subscribed the very composition which had already once before been rejected by them; and again promised loyalty and allegiance. But they had hardly returned to their camp when all their labors were rendered null and void: for, as the confederates had taken up arms, the insurgents would not lay down theirs till their antagonists should have drawn off their troops likewise.

General Erlach marched from Berne on Langenthal, and in his way dispersed a body of 2000 peasants. On the plain before Herzogenbuchsee, he found a guard of six peasants armed with

halberds. These assured him the rebels were all dispersed; but, as he rode with his followers towards the town, shot after shot saluted them. He now saw the insurgent bands suddenly before him who had occupied the neighboring wood, and he charged them on three sides at once.

Now began a desperate conflict. The insurgents, soon overpowered, defended step by step their retreat to the village. While a part of it was burning at their backs, they fought in the houses, and then behind the walls of the church. Finally, they dispersed and fled through the woods.

Instead of the sounds of uproar and defiance, the silence of death, remorse, and terror now prevailed in all the villages. The districts were disarmed; the leaders imprisoned. At Zofingen the confederate council of war sat, and held courts martial. Schybi was transported thither from Entlibuch, and beheaded. Leuenberger, betrayed in his own house by his neighbors and comrades, was imprisoned at Berne, where he was shortly after executed, and his bloody head affixed to the gallows beside the insurgent covenant. His secretary, Brosmer, died in like manner; and Ulli Galli was hanged. At Basle, seven old men, with snow-white beards, were sentenced to death as having taken part in the insurrection. Of the others, some were sentenced to death, some to banishment, others to fines. Thus the free bailiwicks had to pay 10,000 guilders; the people of the county of Lentzburg, 20,000; the men of Soleure, 30,000; and others in proportion: and the emperor Ferdinand III. proclaimed a sentence of outlawry against the fugitive insurgents through the whole Roman empire.

All members of the Helvetic body might by this time have convinced themselves, that nothing but internal union could save them in times of threatened danger, whether from within or without. The most decisive experience of this truth had been afforded by the incidents of the recent insurrection. It had been seen with what facility the insurgents of both religions had agreed upon a common form of compact and conspiracy; an agreement which, for many generations, their rulers had been unable to bring to pass. This spectacle revived the wish to infuse renewed vigor into the league of the confederacy. The evangelical party gave utterance to this wish in 1654; and it was undertaken to mould the former alliances into one general instrument. But as, in politics, important matters are often treated slightly when once they have become things of habit, so slight matters are swelled into importance when any thing of a novel nature is brought under discussion. The older cantons would not give up the prerogatives which they enjoyed over those which had been received into the

league at a later period. Moreover, it did not escape the penetration of the Catholics that their close connexions amongst themselves, and with foreign powers, must yield to the more comprehensive bond of the confederacy. Many popular leaders feared the loss of the most fruitful sources of gain in their vocation. And thus, for the present, no reunion was possible.

Meanwhile the foreign policy of the two religious parties took directions diametrically opposite. The evangelicals allowed no nice scruples to deter them from mixing in foreign interests to promote those of Protestantism. The then English government (that of Cromwell) paid extraordinary honors to the envoys of the Protestant cantons. In 1654, they made, by word and writing, the most urgent intercessions at the court of Turin for the persecuted Waldenses; contributed for them 18,000 florins; spoke at length of the possibility of resorting to armed intervention: and it was principally through their aid, with that of England and Holland, that a treaty of toleration was closed at Pignerol, when the French minister, Mazarin, who had originally instigated these persecutions, ceased to give his support to the cause of Savoy.

In the following year, the Catholic cantons renewed their league with the bishop of Basle. The contracting parties not only promised each other active assistance in cases of religion, and in every other just cause, but also equal division of all conquests made in common; a clause which seemed to point at the domains of the Protestant cantons, as conquests over the neighboring great powers could not be dreamed of. Still more disquieting for the Protestants was the renewal of the Borromean league by the Catholic cantons.

CHAPTER XVII.

RELIGIOUS WAR AND WAR OF TOGGENBURG.

1656—1718.

Religious War.—Battle of Villmergen.—The Plague.—Usurpations of the Abbot of St. Gall over the People of Toggenburg.—Conduct of Schwytz and Glarus.—Of Berne.—War of Toggenburg.—Flight of Abbot Leodegar.—Toggenburgers aim at Independence—which is refused them.—Surprisal of the Bernese troops by Ackermann of Unterwalden.—Second action at Villmergen.—Peace of Aarau.—Hostile Interference of the Pope and his Nuncio.—Reprisals of the Helvetic Body.

SCARCELY was the foregoing insurrection well disposed of, when a new dispute broke out among the cantons of the confederacy.

This was a fresh manifestation of that unchristian hatred which prevailed between Protestants and Catholics. The

clergy on both sides, instead of extinguishing the flame of discord, blew it up by their preaching.

There never were wanting occasions of dispute among the governments, especially in the common or free bailiwicks, where each contended exclusively for its own creed and its own jurisdiction; and none reposed confidence any longer in their colleagues, as none would believe any thing but evil of the rest. The Catholics would not believe that Berne and Zurich built fortifications, and entered into alliances with Holland and with England, for nothing. The Protestants complained of the Catholics, for confirming the Borromean league, renewing their alliances with Savoy and the bishop of Basle, and keeping up relations of close amity with the court of Spain.

It happened that six families of Arth, in the canton of Schwytz, were obliged to fly for holding the evangelical persuasion, as their lives were hardly safe in their native village. They presented themselves with tears and prayers before the council of Zurich, and only begged that the free transport of their property might be procured for them. Upon this the council of Zurich addressed pressing intercessions to Schwytz in behalf of these persecuted people; but Schwytz refused to listen to their overtures, and demanded the surrender of the persons of the refugees. When upon this the reformed cantons appealed to the rights of the confederacy, Schwytz replied: "Within our own land we owe no account to any one, except to God and to ourselves." Moreover, they confiscated the goods of the emigrants, threw their relatives (as they also were of the Protestant persuasion) into prison, put some of them to the torture, and condemned others to death.

Zurich now took up arms, as all admonition and mediation from the neutral cantons at diets had been useless. With equal celerity, Schwytz and the Catholic cantons were in the field. Zurich, supported by Basle, Mulhausen, and Schaffhausen, marched troops towards the Rhine, occupied the Thurgau, and besieged Rapperswyl. But the Catholics had already occupied Rapperswyl and the Albis, as well as Bremgarten, Mellingen, and Baden, and the Brunigberg, on the side of Berne. The Bernese sent detachments to the defence of Freyburg, Soleure, and Unterwalden, and marched to Lentzburg with forty banners to the succor of the Zurichers.

There was, however, nothing like discipline in the ranks of the reformers. They sacked and burned wherever they came, pillaged the monastery of Rheinau, plundered villages and churches, and drove off the cattle. So little order was preserved by the Bernese, that they encamped in the district of Villmergen, without troubling themselves at all about the

enemy ; sent out no scouts ; and were not even provided with sufficient ammunition. And although some men of the Aargau had descried the enemy by the village of Wohlen, and gave the alarm to the Bernese ; yet no attention was paid to them, as some young gentlemen of Berne had ridden out to reconnoitre and assured that all was safe.

More than 4000 men of Lucerne, in effect, lay in ambush on the heights of Wohlen. From a ridge in the hollow way, where they were covered up to the waist, they suddenly opened a fire on the Bernese lines. These fell into such panic and confusion that they could hardly be formed in order of battle. As powder and ball were deficient, they discharged only two rounds from their field-pieces ; the rout was general. Ten fresh squadrons, indeed, came to their aid ; but those wheeled about and took to flight along with the rest. The general of Lucerne had in his pocket during the action a letter from his government containing an order not to fight, as a peaceable arrangement was in progress : but he put it up unopened, as he could guess at the contents, and pursued the flying Bernese, of whom a vast number were cut to pieces. They lost about 800 men, and eleven pieces of heavy artillery. A strong body of Bernese troops were posted in the neighborhood, and saw the flight of their countrymen towards Lentzburg, but did not leave their position, not having orders.

Such was the fatal battle of Villmergen. The victors lay encamped, exulting, three days on the field of battle ; they then marched homewards, loaded with plunder. A few weeks afterwards an armistice, and finally a peace, were concluded. For as, during warfare, the transport of the necessaries of life was suspended with regard to the lesser cantons, and as the government of Lucerne could as little as that of Berne repose confidence in its own discontented peasantry, it was the interest of all sides to put a speedy end to the war, which, though it lasted only nine weeks, had already cost the Zurichers above 414,000 florins. The pacification restored things to their previous situation. In matters of religion, and with regard to freedom of transit for goods between one canton and another, each canton retained the power of acting in its own domain at its own pleasure.

The Catholics might have taken even greater advantage of the wretched state of discipline in the Protestant cantons, if their own war department had been conducted at all better. Peace was now restored without the spirit of peace. Both sides were exhausted ; but the damage done reciprocally remained without compensation, and the minds of both parties were embittered more than ever. This was visible everywhere, and chiefly in the common bailiwicks. In these, what

hurt the one pleased the other ; and the populace exhibited their unchristian zeal of doctrine according to the example of their rulers. It lacked but a slight impulse to occasion a renewal of warfare.

An officer of Lucerne, who had levied troops for the service of Spain, marched them through the Thurgau, and led them, with drawn sabres, into the Protestant church of Ripperswyl. From thence a woman pursued them with curses and horrible cries to Wigoldingen, where the population were speedily up in arms on the Spanish soldiers, five of whom were slain, some wounded, and others taken prisoners. This event called up the reformed and Catholic cantons in arms. Troops were levied ; the five Catholic cantons immediately occupied Kaiserstuhl, Mellingen, and Bremgarten. Much debate and negotiation followed. The Catholic cantons were not to be pacified save by blood. Two men of Wigoldingen were sentenced to death by the majority of the cantons, which exercised sovereignty over the Thurgau, notwithstanding Zurich's urgent solicitations for their pardon. The commune of Wigoldingen being sentenced to pay the whole expenses of the lengthened dispute, collections were made in aid of that object in all the churches of Zurich.

Similar disputes were very frequent in these times ; and persecutions on account of faith were practised without mercy. Thus sorrow and distress were introduced into many households. Contagious sickness next was added to all the other sources of misery, which carried off numbers, especially in Basle and in the Aargau. The season had been unhealthy, and warm during almost the whole winter. Venomous worms and caterpillars covered trees, grass, and fruits ; and water and field mice appeared in greater numbers than had before been known. This continued till the year came to an end, and a hard winter followed.

Many of the Swiss, though called free, were poor subjects, possessed of fewer rights than those of kings ; nay, force and fraud were often used without scruple to extirpate, little by little, the few franchises of the people, that the power of their lords might luxuriate without limits.

The people had a special experience of this in the district of Toggenburg. In former times, through the favor of the old counts of Toggenburg, the communes had enjoyed important privileges in this district—participation in the appointment of the higher and lower courts of justice, and in general assemblies called to consult upon the military and civil administration. No land-vogt, moreover, could be imposed on them but by election from amongst the native inhabitants.

But the abbots of St. Gall having purchased of the barons of

Raron the jurisdiction over the land which the latter had acquired by inheritance from the old counts of Toggenburg; the new possessors aimed in their turn at privileges, which, far from having purchased, they had formally acknowledged to belong to the people. And in like manner as the people of Toggenburg had set up, for the protection of their freedom, a common-law jurisdiction with the cantons of Schwytz and Glarus; so, in 1649, the abbot also established a defensive league with the same cantons, for the maintenance of his territorial rights. As his abbacy was connected with the confederacy, and he himself bore the title of prince of the Holy Roman empire, he always knew how to take advantage of his twofold title. He opposed himself to the emperor, when it suited him, in his quality of confederate; to the confederates as prince of the empire, and delegate of imperial majesty; and thus he made his double character stand him in good stead.

He now began to speak of the freedom of Toggenburg in ambiguous terms, and went so far as to call the people his vassals, in order to accustom them to become such. At last he attacked their franchises openly, and much debate took place before the diets of the confederacy. These, however, seconded his pretensions. Thus he first obtained appellate jurisdiction from all tribunals in the country to his own court; then he assumed the right of choosing a foreigner for land-vogt, of holding the unchecked administration of church property, preserves, and fisheries; in addition to these, he set up a claim of appointing the priest in every church, and conferring the rights of citizenship at his pleasure. Lastly, the people were prohibited from holding assemblies; and the war administration of the country fell, in 1654, entirely into the abbot's hands. Now he domineered at pleasure, assented to compulsory enlistments in foreign services, filled all places with his creatures, and regarded with indifference the appropriation of the best lands to monasteries through methods the most fraudulent.

At length, the abbot Leodegar considered himself absolute lord in the land; he commanded the people to make, and to maintain, at their own cost, a new highway through the Hummelwald; and when the delegates of the people dared to remonstrate that this would be a burthen more oppressive than had formerly been the feudal services from which they had already bought themselves free, he condemned them to a heavy fine, to public recantation, and he declared them disarmed and dishonored.

The oppressed Toggenburgers now brought their complaints before Schwytz and Glarus. Glarus took the distress of the poor peasantry to heart, as also did Schwytz, although the Toggenburgers professed the reformed faith. "And even

though they were Turks and Heathens," cried the Schwytzers in the general assembly, "they are nevertheless our countrymen and confederates, and we should help them to assert their rights." This incensed the abbot, who appealed to all the cantons in behalf of his confederate rights. Now came diet upon diet, from year to year. Many were well inclined towards the Toggenburgers, on account of their reformed and oppressed faith; many hostile to the abbot, for having shortly before closed a defensive alliance with Austria, and for appearing to regard the county of Toggenburg as a fief held of the emperor and the empire. The longer the quarrel lasted, the more perplexed, of course, became the matter out of which it arose. At length the old religious hatred threw in its venom; for so soon as Schwytz and the other Catholic cantons perceived that Zurich and Berne afforded assistance to the Toggenburgers chiefly on the ground of their common faith, and encouraged them to stand fast for their old rights, Schwytz became better inclined to the abbot of St. Gall. This, however, did not deter Zurich and Berne from their purpose, or the citizens of Toggenburg from the exercise of their franchises. The imperial envoy now stepped in with a missive from his court, of which the purport was that the emperor would settle the affair, as the county of Toggenburg had indubitably, from time immemorial, been a fief of the empire; but Zurich and Berne replied, that Toggenburg lay within the Swiss frontier, and that the abbot of St. Gall had long acknowledged them as arbitrators. Moreover, the ambassadors of Holland and the kings of England and Prussia encouraged the men of Zurich and Berne in resistance to the emperor.

The matter of dispute became more and more indefinite, and tumult and violence now arose in Toggenburg itself. The abbot adhered stiffly to the maintenance of his usurped power. The Toggenburgers refused obedience, and drove away his functionaries; whereupon the abbot posted troops on all the bridges, roads, and passes in the district of St. Gall. Bailiff Dürler, in Lucerne, the most zealous friend of the abbot, called the Catholic cantons out, to keep in check the rebels of Toggenburg. On the other hand, the mayor of Berne, Willading, exhorted the reformed cantons to appeal without delay to the sword, for the old rights of the people of Toggenburg and the safety of the Protestant church.

So soon as the men of Toggenburg saw that Zurich and Berne stood on their side, and that general Bodmer was on his march from Zurich to their aid, with a force of nearly 3000 men, they proclaimed war for the maintenance of their rights against the abbot. Rabholz, an eminent member of the government of Zurich, became their leader, as he had before been

their friend and counsellor, proclaimed a levy *en masse*, and engaged the abbot's myrmidons as vigorously with the sword as he had already done with the pen. The abbot's cloisters and castles were besieged, and the troops of Zurich ravaged the whole district of St. Gall without the slightest restraint of order or discipline.

Now also Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and Zug took up arms, advanced on Toggenburg, and occupied the county of Baden. The nuncio gave them 26,000 thalers out of the papal treasury; and in Rome prayers were offered up to the saints for their success. Consecrated bullets and amulets were distributed by the priests to the soldiers. Berne, on her part, raised 10,000 crowns from her own treasury, and brought 15,000 men into the field. A Bernese force advanced against the Stilli, crossed the Aar, and joined the forces of Zurich at Würelingen: these, at the same time, had taken possession of the whole Thurgau.

Under these circumstances, Glarus and Soleure remained neutral, as likewise did the bishop of Constance. Basle and Freyburg lamented this civil contest between Swiss and Swiss, and once more exhorted both sides to an amicable agreement; but the admonition came too late. The abbot of St. Gall transported his valuables to Lindau, betook himself to Rosbach, and applied to the town of St. Gall and to the territory of Appenzell and Glarus for assistance; but they promised him nothing further than their neutrality. The emperor, on the other hand, summoned the circle of Swabia, as far as Presburg, in Hungary, to the assistance of the abbot.

Meanwhile, the brave Rabholz had marched into the old abbey-lands; the banners of Berne and Zurich went victoriously through the whole Thurgau, as far as the town of St. Gall: they there placed a garrison in the abbey, and at Rosbach. The panic-struck abbot had already taken refuge for himself and his valuables at Augsburg.


The Toggenburgers, now that their cause was victorious, condemned those of the abbot's people to death who had acted the part of betrayers towards them; they threw off the abbot's dominion altogether, as well as the connexion with Schwytz and Glarus, and proposed to the people of Gaster, Uznach, and others, to found a free and independent state, like the cantons of the confederacy; and they planned a new constitution, which they brought before the diet at Aarau. But such language displeased the leaders of Berne and Zurich, as they would rather have had the Toggenburgers for subjects than for fellow-confederates: even Rabholz, the zealous champion of the Toggenburg cause, declined to second the wishes of

the people, although they offered him large sums of money to do so.

Meanwhile, infinite wrath and discord prevailed in the Catholic cantons. Some were for peace, others for war. The French and Austrian ambassadors promised assistance; the pope sent money; Freyburg and Soleure espoused their cause with the Valais, and the whole Catholic portion of the bailiwicks. But those reformed districts, on the other hand, which had hitherto remained quiet, threatened to take up arms; and all of that persuasion in the common bailiwicks actually did take up arms in the support of Zurich and Berne. Thus, at this time, nearly 150,000 Swiss stood arrayed for mortal conflict with each other: at no former period had the confederacy taken the field in equal force against a foreign enemy. And so it happened, that one sword kept another in the scabbard.

While the envoys of the confederacy sat at Aarau and treated of peace, the land-vogt and knight Ackermann of Unterwalden marched with 5000 men upon the bridge of Sins, where the forces of Berne lay in their encampment. The priest of Sins, on a previous understanding with Ackermann, had given a banquet to the leaders of the Bernese, in order to lull their vigilance. They were thus taken by surprise, so that they saved themselves with difficulty. Many of the Bernese were slain. Their leader, Meunier, who, with 200 men, defended himself valiantly, first in the churchyard and then in the church, was obliged at last to give himself and his men up as prisoners: they would infallibly have been cut down without mercy, had not Ackermann, with generous boldness, curbed those blood-thirsty men. The Schwytzers had moreover pressed forwards, in the direction of Hütten and Bellenschanz, towards the Lake of Zurich. There, however, they came upon Hans Wertmüller, the vigilant commander of Zurich. Seven hours long the Schwytzers fought—they lost 200 men; but they were finally compelled to yield to the Zurichers. Among their slain were found consecrated tickets, with numbers, and crosses, and assurances of victory.

Knight Ackermann drew Catholic reinforcements around him from all quarters. His troops were above 12,000 strong. He marched with vigor through the land by Muri to Wohlen and Villmergen, where the Bernese stood with 8000 men. Here, in the same region where the Bernese once before had suffered a bloody defeat from the Catholic cantons, in 1656, the turf was again to be reddened by Swiss blood shed by Swiss hands. It was the 25th of July, 1712. The Bernese had taken position near Meiengrün. The thunder of artillery opened the conflict. Six long hours the struggle was pro-



tracted. At length the Bernese brought confusion and panic among the champions of the Catholic cantons, broke their ranks and put them to flight. The plain was strewn with the corpses of above 2000 Catholics.

The Toggenburgers now having gained possession of Uznach and Gaster, the town of Rapperswyl being surrendered to the Zurichers, and the conquerors having pressed from all sides into the Catholic territory, their antagonists at length became intimidated, and begged for peace.

Already had the cantons of Lucerne and Uri subscribed to the terms of peace at the diet in Aarau; but the peasantry of the former canton, incited by the papal nuncio, as well as by their own priests and monks, would not hear of peace, but had marched against the town to force the government into hostilities, and from thence against the Bernese at Villmergen. Here they had rushed on merited destruction.

The general peace of the country was at length concluded at Aarau, on terms of course advantageous to the victors. The five Catholic cantons were not only compelled to cede their rights over Baden, Rapperswyl, and the lower bailiwicks, in favor of Zurich and Berne, but, besides, to take these two preponderant cantons into partnership of dominion over the Thurgau and the Rheinthal, where both religious parties from thenceforward exercised equal rights. Glarus remained exclusively in the possession of Berne and Zurich.

The humbled abbot Leodegar of St. Gall would not, however, accept the terms of pacification; and consequently remained, to the day of his death, in obstinate exile. Meanwhile the troops of Berne and Zurich occupied his lands. But when the new abbot, Joseph, in 1718, accepted the above-mentioned terms of peace in Rosbach, his lands were restored, and the Toggenburgers placed once more in subjection to him; but with augmented rights and franchises, under the guarantee of Berne and Zurich. The pope and his nuncio only persisted in rejecting the peace of Aarau, declaring it altogether null and void. This, however, troubled the reconciled confederates but little: and when the people in some districts of the canton of Lucerne were incited by the clergy against the government, a garrison from Entlibuch was taken into the town, a tax on monasteries demanded of the pope towards covering war expenses; and at the same time the recall of the nuncio Caraccioli was insisted on, who was denounced as the principal promoter of all the mischief. The bitter effects of this war were long felt by the Catholic cantons, which, in carrying it on, had incurred immense expenses. Schwytz imposed on every household a tax of five thalers. Lucerne was compelled

to use force in collecting her imposts. Uri could only pacify her subjects in the Val Levantina by conceding extensive franchises, and by designating them thenceforwards as "well-beloved and faithful countrymen."

CHAPTER XVIII

COURSE OF EVENTS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1702—1781.

Foreign Relations and Policy of the Helvetic Body at the beginning of the eighteenth century.—Jesuit Missions.—Conduct of Du Luc the French Ambassador.—Case of Thomas Massner of Coire.—Conspiracy of Henzi at Berne.—Insurrection of Chenaux at Freyburg.—New Alliance with France.

ON the outbreking of the war of the Spanish succession, the intrigues of foreign ambassadors in Switzerland occasioned partial ferments and divisions, but the confederates kept carefully out of dangerous entanglements. They aimed exclusively at securing their neutrality; a point in which they succeeded but imperfectly, for the security of their frontiers and communications was subjected to frequent interruptions. The belligerent powers harassed the Helvetic body with constant demands, and goaded them to inward dissension. Such machinations were only too successful in a state which was already making rapid approach to ruin,—in which the common weal had ceased to be much regarded; and every one held himself justified in pursuing his own interests in preference to those of his country.

The relations which subsisted between the Helvetic body and France were of a delicate and very peculiar nature. The latter power founded an especial claim to gratitude on the permanent employment of Swiss troops in her service: the French court thought fit to forget that the seeming profits of this connexion were bought by the confederates at the price of streams of blood, of the decay of arts and agriculture, constantly increasing moral corruption, and utter extinction of patriotism and public spirit. But France only took account of the sums of money transmitted to Switzerland, regarded the latter country in the light of a sort of province, and treated all opposition to her wishes and proceedings as an overt act of treason against her majesty. In this spirit the French ambassador, count du Luc, expresses himself:—"I had believed that, at least, families loaded by France with wealth and honors, must necessarily bear the fleur-de-lis traced in their inmost hearts: but I find that this nation retains no sense of received benefits;

that tokens of favor only weigh with those who enjoyed them personally ; and do not even influence the sentiments and actions of their nearest relations favorably to the interests of his majesty." He recommended, by way of remedy, to lavish constant good treatment exclusively on the pensioners of France, in order that their zeal and fidelity may frustrate the resistance of others. In like manner, he holds it indispensable that the friends of France should, at any expense, be promoted to the first official stations in the cantons. Du Luc goes on to advise that, in all military promotions, particular attention should be paid to the men of the Thirteen Cantons, and those of the Valais and the Grisons, who are accustomed to regard every step made by others as a robbery committed on themselves. For the rest, he says, the whole system of policy to be observed with Swiss statesmen may be expressed in two words :—these gentlemen must either be treated with great regard and honor ; or fairly crushed, and put out of the power of doing mischief. The lengths which France was capable of going, in order to strengthen her party in the confederacy, and to win, fatigue, "or fairly crush" her opponents, may be judged of from the following incident :—

Thomas Massner of Coire, a man of enormous wealth and influence, and who was considered as the head of the Austrian party in the Grisons, had made himself obnoxious to France by his well-known political connexions. The following plan was adopted by the French ambassador, count du Luc, in order "to deprive him of the power of doing mischief." Massner's son, a lad of sixteen, a student at Geneva, was decoyed on a party of pleasure into Savoy by the brother of the French agent at Coire, kidnapped by the French, and carried off to Fort l'Ecluse. The indignant father meditated active reprisals, and succeeded in obtaining possession of the person of the French agent at Coire himself, Merveilleux. The French ambassador denounced the act as a breach of the law of nations ; while in the Grisons it passed for an equitable, though extra-legal, retaliation. Massner's friends compromised the matter, and engaged him to liberate his captive, and ask pardon of the French ambassador, on condition that his son should likewise be liberated : but Massner having honorably performed his part of the treaty, and his son being still detained in hopeless captivity, he fell upon new plans of revenge. He took prisoner the duke de Vendôme, grand prior of France, carried him to Feldkirch, and delivered him up to the Austrians : this excusable act of vengeance proved a seed of much misfortune to Massner. The government of the Grisons did its utmost to negotiate the reciprocal liberation of the captives. On the demand of France, a tribunal was appointed at Ilanz,

for the trial of Massner, who sought his safety in flight. In 1711, a sentence of outlawry was passed against him; his property was confiscated, his house rased to the ground, and a monument of his ignominy erected on its site. Many of his partisans were involved in his fall. A thousand ducats were promised for him, if delivered alive into the hands of justice; and five hundred ducats for his dead body. The outlaw lived for some time under the safeguard of the emperor; but his services fell insensibly into oblivion at the court of Vienna. Disgrace, disgust, or lingering love of country, impelled him at length to quit the Austrian territory; and he wandered for awhile friendless and helpless in the district of Glarus: here he was discovered, and the French ambassador claimed his surrender. He lost his life in his flight by the oversetting of his carriage. The conclusion of peace between France and Austria, in 1714, brought about the liberation of young Massner; who was received with exultation by his countrymen, and loaded with honors and dignities in return for his protracted trials.

The years 1702, and 1705, exhibited a phenomenon in Switzerland which our own times have reproduced in the countries which adjoin it, with striking if not permanent effect. In 1702, two jesuits made their appearance, accompanied by other monks as well as by several laymen, at Chiavenna in the Swiss territory, offering little devotional books and images for sale. They pretended to the power of forgiving sins and working miracles; and were received with ready credulity in the Valteline, though their pretensions had been laughed at in France, in Italy, and even in Spain. They went barefoot, slept for only three hours in the night, preached and heard confessions in the day-time; they took no salt with their food, tasted neither flesh nor wine, began their service at break of day with a procession out of the town, and in the afternoon preached abundant absurdities in the town itself, without text or arrangement, to a concourse of people from all quarters: they thundered against vice with ludicrous gestures; and their preachments were heard kneeling by the multitude. After the close of their discourses, they frequently stripped off their upper garments, and with blunt knives, which they kept stuck in their girdles, cut their bare backs, in such a manner that many sympathetic souls melted into tears. All these exhibitions were performed in an open place, as no church could contain such an assemblage. Their followers, especially those of the clerical order, appeared barefoot, with ropes about their necks, crowns of thorns upon their heads, some attired in black, others in red or white and blue linen, others again with their faces covered in coarse sacks which hung to the ground. Nocturnal

processions also were held, in which the penitents carried lanterns on poles, and heavy crosses, and flogged themselves with scourges armed with points. The preachers declared absolutions and benedictions ineffectual with regard to those who did not follow their discipline in all points. A large fire kept up beside the station of the missionaries was fed, by the devotion of their contrite hearers, with packs of cards, seductive books, French head-dresses adorned with lace and ribands, &c. &c. A little brook was blessed by these adventurers, that its waters might cure fever and flux, which happened to be prevalent: for the same purpose, consecrated tickets were distributed in the cathedral. One, whose wife and children were sick, was commanded by these jesuits, in order to effect their cure, to spend twelve days and nights in a wood, without any other aliment than herbs and roots. On returning half alive to his home, he found his family cured—by death. The people were persuaded, that those who contrived to get nearest these missionaries during their processions obtained immediate entrance to heaven, without passing through purgatory: accordingly, as every one was determined to be nearest, it came to *voies de fait*; and tumults took place which could hardly be stilled by the influence of the spiritual mountebanks. On their departure, many followed them for eight or nine leagues in *sacks*, in order to earn the absolution, promised to extend to their posterity for twenty years after their death. These holy doings lasted till the bishop of Como came to take the waters at St. Moritz. This bishop, a convivial and card-loving prelate, dispensed the contrite sinners from their penitential practices, by virtue of his spiritual authority and example; loose living became more universal than ever. "They imagined," observes Hottinger, "that they had fully atoned for their former sins, and lost no time in beginning a new score."

The farce was renewed in 1705. Two jesuit missionaries came into the democratical cantons from Italy; they preached repentance and remission of sins everywhere in the open air. Innumerable multitudes gathered around them. A mob of all ranks followed them about from place to place; and those of their hearers who set up for extraordinary devotion appeared in black garments, with robes and chains round their neck and loins: but the most devout of all enacted the scenes of the crucifixion. They went about barefoot, wearing crowns of thorns on their heads, and dragging heavy crosses, and allowed themselves to be struck, thrust about, and scourged by persons paid for it, misinterpreting, in a childish manner, the words of Jesus Christ,—“If any one will come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me.” The missionaries left Switzerland loaded with wealth; and even flattered the pope

with the agreeable anticipation that the Protestant part of Switzerland might be led back to the lap of the church.

The outward peace enjoyed by the confederacy during the eighteenth century (the last of its existence in its primitive form) was contrasted by incessant inward disturbances. The first of these which claims our attention is the conspiracy of Henzi at Berne. Here, as in most towns of the confederacy, a more and more formal and regular aristocracy had grown up by degrees in the course of centuries. From time immemorial the powers of government had been held by the avoyer and council. For the protection of the burghers against the encroachments of the council, and of that body against the influence of the multitude, an assembly of 200 of the most respectable burghers was formed, the members of which were annually elected. The most important acts, which imposed duties on every burgher, not only for himself but for his posterity, were often brought before the whole body of citizens, and even country people; the more so as at that time a few villages constituted the whole domain of Berne. The continual aggrandizement of the state rendered obsolete the fundamental laws of its constitution, which became imperceptibly modified in proportion as political emergencies appeared to require alterations. When the power of Berne was doubled by the conquest of the Vaud, the assembly of the burghers ceased to be thought of. The dignities of the state became hereditary in those families which had once obtained a seat in the great council. It is true that the other burghers remained eligible to public functions; but it was rarely indeed, and generally by means of intermarriages, that a new family raised itself to the rank of the rulers *de facto*.

The administration of these ruling families was, in general, not devoid of wisdom and equity; and, in fact, the principal subject of complaint was that participation in state affairs had ceased to be open to all. It was, however, precisely this system of aristocratic exclusion which was felt so insupportably by many of those who were subjected to it, that so early as 1710 attempts were made to break it up. These were renewed with increased vigor, in 1743, by six-and-twenty burghers, who combined to petition the council for the revival of a greater equality of rights in favor of the general body of citizens. These adventurous men incurred the censure of the authorities, and were placed under arrest in their houses, or banished. Amongst the exiles was Samuel Henzi, a man of no ordinary talent and spirit. He had fixed on Neufchâtel as the place of his banishment; the term of which was shortened by the favor of the authorities. On his return, the embarrassed state in which he found his domestic economy, and the ill success of

his efforts to obtain a lucrative office, may have mingled with other motives in inducing him to take the lead in a desperate undertaking of a little band of malcontents, who, without money, arms, or even unity of purpose, dreamed of overturning a government strong in its own resources, and sure of support from the whole Helvetic body, and of instituting equality of rights among all burghers, and appointment to all offices by lot. Yet, with all their root and branch work, the conspirators had no idea of remedying the real defects of the state, of satisfying the prevalent and increasing discontents of the Vaud, or of procuring an extension of political rights to the whole people: for, in the plan of a constitution annexed to their meditated manifesto, exclusive regard was paid to the burghers at Berne; and the rest of the people would hardly have been bettered by their accession to the dignities which had hitherto been engrossed by the ruling families. The 13th of July, 1749, was fixed for the execution of the plans of the conspirators; but many of their own number had opened their eyes by this time to the utter impossibility of success, produced by the disunion and imprudence of their colleagues—to the passion and cupidity of some, and the atrocious hopes of murder and plunder entertained by others. No man felt more sensibly the criminal views of his party than the only man of ability and public spirit among them, Henzi. He would not betray those with whom he had long pursued the same object; but he made an attempt to save himself by flight from farther participation in their plans and foreseen destiny. It was too late: a betrayer had already done his work. Henzi and other heads of the party were taken and beheaded during the first exasperation of the government. Sentence of death was also pronounced upon some who had made their escape; others were imprisoned or banished, but soon afterwards pardoned. On embarking with their two sons to quit the Helvetic territory, the wife of Henzi exclaimed, "I would rather see these children sink in the Rhine-stream than they should not one day learn to avenge the murder of their father." However, when the sons came to manhood, they displayed more magnanimity than their mother; and one of them, who rose to distinction in the service of the Netherlands, requited with good offices to the burghers of his native town the unmerited misfortunes which they had brought upon his family.

In Freyburg,—where, in old times, equality of rights for all burghers had been settled as a principle,—a no less close aristocracy had formed itself than in Berne, since the middle of the seventeenth century. A few houses, under the denomination of *secret families*, had contrived to exclude, not only the country people, but a large proportion likewise of the town

burghers, from all participation in public affairs; and, in 1684, admission into the number of these secret families was rendered wholly impossible. From thenceforwards, constantly increasing discontent displayed itself both in town and country. Several very moderate proposals for alleviating the pressure of this oligarchy were rejected with such haughtiness by the government, that disaffection swelled into revolt. In 1781, Peter Nicolas Chenaux of la Tour de Trême, John Peter Raccaud, and an advocate of Gruyères, of the name of Castellaz, formed a league for the achievement of a higher degree of freedom. First they endeavored to work upon the people by fair promises. Then Chenaux, at the head of a select band of fifty or sixty, undertook to terrify the government into a compromise. But the gates being closed on the party, and the walls manned with armed burghers, this undertaking ended in open revolt. The toll of alarm-bells summoned up the country people from every hill and valley in the canton, to assist in the coercion of the domineering capital. A body of nearly three thousand men encamped before the walls of Freyburg, and farther aid was hourly expected. The terrified burghers instantly called for the armed intervention of Berne, and the latter town detached a part of its guard without delay. Three hundred dragoons marched upon Freyburg, and were to be followed by fourteen hundred foot. The burghers of Freyburg now thought themselves strong enough to meet force with force. The garrison made a sally from the town, and on the first sight of the Bernese flag, not to mention the heavy artillery, the malcontents solicited an armistice. The surrender of their arms and of their ringleaders was demanded as preliminary to all negotiation. The people refused the latter of these conditions, but fled panic-struck on the first attack, without making any resistance. The whole affair would have ended without bloodshed, had not the leader Chenaux been murdered in his flight by Henry Rosier, himself one of the popular party. The two remaining heads of the insurgents got clear off: Chenaux's corpse was delivered to the public executioner, and his head fixed on a spear above the Romont gate. Sentence of death was passed on Castellaz and Raccaud, the two fugitives. Several others were visited with less degrees of punishment: new reinforcements from Berne, Soleure, and Lucerne, secured the town from any recurrence of tumult, and their ambassadors strove to promote the restoration of tranquillity. It was ordered to be proclaimed, from all the pulpits, that the council was well disposed to protect the old and well-attested rights of its loving subjects, as well as to hear, with its never-failing graciousness, every suitable and respectful representation. Three days were allotted

to each commune to lay their complaints and wishes before the government, through delegates. But when months elapsed without the popular grievances having obtained a hearing, the loss of Chenaux began to be appreciated. Multitudes assembled round his tomb weeping and praying: pilgrimages, as if to the tomb of a saint, were made thither with banners, and with crucifixes. Vainly were these demonstrations of feeling stigmatized, by the government as crimes against the state, by the bishop as impious profanations. They were neither to be checked by posting sentinels, nor fulminating excommunications. They were the last sad consolation of the people,—the last substitute for hopes that were already given up.

In the disunited and feeble state of the Swiss confederation, it could not be matter of much surprise that foreigners began to treat it with very little respect. Instead of intrigue and corruption being now what Philip de Comines had called them, the *only* means of vanquishing the Swiss, naked menaces often proved a very successful substitute. Austria, and still more France, perpetually encroached upon them. A fertile source of annoyance were the constant efforts of these powers to jostle one another out of favor with the confederation, and in case of war to secure themselves an exclusive supply of Swiss soldiers. France in general gained the upper hand in these competitions, and rewarded the land from which she drew whole hordes of recruits by restraints on trade, prohibitions of export, and all the frauds of national bankruptcy. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the confederates had sunk into such contempt at the French court, that they refrained from addressing even the most equitable demands to it, in the certain anticipation of a refusal. But all slights were compensated by such banquets as that which the French ambassador gave at Soleure on the 13th of September, 1751, in honor of the birth of an heir to the throne. On this occasion a large amount of gold and silver coins was thrown to the crowd, to be scrambled for at six different points of the town. In honor of the same happy event, gold medals of large size were distributed to all the principal persons in the cantons. These were received with great pleasure throughout the whole confederation; and the ambassador had the address to reconcile Zurich and Berne with the French court, after a long period of mutual alienation. Finally, in 1777, a new alliance of the whole Helvetic body with the crown of France was solemnly concluded at Soleure. But the confirmation of those commercial privileges, which the confederates had looked for from this alliance, was postponed by one of its clauses, which set forth, "that both contracting parties,

animated by perfect reciprocal confidence, had been unwilling to delay, by farther discussions, the conclusion of the present alliance."

CHAPTER XIX.

DISTURBANCES AT GENEVA, AND IN NEUFCHÂTEL.

1707—1789.

Arrogance of "Patricians" at Geneva.—Popular Ebullition against them in 1707.—Renewed in 1714.—Again in 1734.—Defensive Measures of the Council baffled by the Populace.—Edict of 1738.—Burning of the Books of Rousseau.—Representative and Negative Parties.—Armed Intervention of France, Zurich, and Berne.—Intrigues of the French.—Of the Negatives.—Revolt of the Representatives, who erect a New Constitution.—Fresh Interference of France, Berne, and Savoy.—Entrance and Occupation of Geneva by their Troops.—Règlement of 1782.—Its Consequences.—Discontents in Neuchâtel.—Death of Gaudot.—Magnanimity of Frederick II. of Prussia.

SHORTLY after the establishment of Genevan independence, it had been decreed by the general assembly, for the better suppression of hostile attempts against their hard-won freedom, that whoever should propose a change in the government of Geneva should be considered to deserve capital punishment. This did not, however, hinder alterations being made, at different times, in various parts of the constitution. So early as the middle of the sixteenth century, the laws were revised and improved. The advantageous situation of the town and the long duration of peace promoted the increase of wealth in Geneva, and the rise of many families to opulence. These families aimed at separating themselves from their fellow-citizens, even in their places of habitation, by settling in the upper part of the town, near the council-house, while the other burghers inhabited the lower town. The principal families already regarded themselves as a standing patriciate; and even the name of patrician came into use in the acts of council. The *Régistres du Conseil de la République de Genève* contain the following sentence, dated 1690, on occasion of calumnious reports upon a member of some privileged family:—*"Lesquels bruits tendent à le priver de l'honneur auquel il estimait être en droit de prétendre par son âge, ses services, et la famille patricienne dont il descend."* In the years preceding the breaking out of the tumults which we shall have to relate, many examples of favoritism occur in the elections of members of council; and a decree was passed, on the 9th January, 1697, *"d'empêcher que l'on donne aussi facilement le titre de madame aux femmes de toutes conditions."*

The year 1707 witnessed an effort of the inferior burghers

to wrest from the principal families a part of their usurped power, and to introduce amendments in the constitution. In this emergency, the council invoked the mediation of Berne and Zurich, received a confederate garrison, and maintained itself by force of arms and by the execution of its principal antagonists. A renewal of the disturbances which had been quelled by such violent measures, was produced, in 1714, by the imposition of an arbitrary tax by the council for the enlargement and completion of the fortifications of the town. This stretch of power occasioned great discontent among the burghers; bitter attacks and censures on the government appeared in print; and the more strictly these were prohibited, they obtained the more eager perusal and credence. One of the arch-promoters of the rising storm was Michael Ducrest, a Genevan burgher and noble, an officer in the army, and a member of the great council. This man opposed himself with extraordinary vehemence to the building of the new fortifications, and heaped offensive charges on the partisans of the measure. The government condemned him to recant, and, on his evading compliance by flight, a penal sentence was pronounced against him. New attempts which he made to excite disturbance were followed by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment. This sentence could not be put in execution, as Ducrest had taken refuge under a foreign jurisdiction, where he set at defiance the council of Geneva, and provoked that body to such a degree by his writings and intrigues against them, that sentences more and more severe were heaped upon his head, until at length the most offensive of his writings was torn by the hangman, and his effigy was suspended from the gallows. His person, however, enjoyed impunity till 1744, when he was taken into custody in the territory of Berne. The government of Geneva did not thirst for his blood, and was content with his perpetual imprisonment. Even in this situation he contrived to mix in Henzi's conspiracy, was confined in the castle of Aarburg, and closed, in extreme old age, as a state prisoner, a life which he had spent in incessant labors in the cause of democracy.

Meanwhile Geneva continued to be agitated by party manœuvres and popular discontents. In the year 1734, a body of 800 burghers addressed themselves to the heads of the government, desiring the curtailment of the projected fortifications, and the repeal of the tax levied for that object. The council only replied by preparations for defence: fire-arms were transported to the council hall; barricades erected in the approaches thither as well as in those to the upper town, where the principal class of burghers lived, and the garrison kept in readiness to act on the first signal. All this apparatus was

regarded with mistrust by the burghers, who were still farther provoked by reports of the approach of Bernese troops, and by the removal of a part of the town artillery to the upper regions, while two-and-twenty other pieces were spiked. The multitude made themselves masters of the city guard, pointed field-pieces on the road by which the troops from Berne were expected, and tumultuously demanded the convocation of the burgher assembly, the sovereign authority of Geneva. The council contrived to win over the members of this body so far that they voted unanimously the completion of the fortifications and the continuance of the tax for ten years. The declaration of an amnesty and improvement of the criminal and judicial administration formed the rest of their business. The burghers laid down their arms, and returned to their ordinary vocations; so that an embassy which arrived from Zurich and Berne found Geneva in a state of apparent tranquillity. Permanent ill-will was fostered only against the syndic Trembley, commander of the garrison and conductor of the defensive preparations of the council. Whatever this person had done by the instructions of the council was laid to his individual account, and added to the mass of dark imputations which were heaped on him, as the head of an already obnoxious family. He plumed himself on the favor of the confederate ambassadors, and forfeited thus the last chance of retrieving himself in the public opinion. The remembrance of the armed intervention of Zurich and Berne, in 1707, was too recent to admit of their ambassadors doing any good to Trembley's cause through the medium of pacific intercession. The departure of these embassies removed the only screen of the syndic: he demanded his dismissal, which was refused him, in order to deprive him of his functions more ignominiously. No resistance or artifice of a powerful connexion could save him: the tumults were renewed with increased fury; and the question soon ceased to regard the person or party of Trembley, and became that of the triumph of the aristocratic or democratic principle at Geneva. In 1737, the council ventured several arrests, and the consequence was that the whole body of burghers rushed to arms, and the council was defeated, not without bloodshed. A garrison from Berne and Zurich was thrown into the town: the ambassadors of these cantons, in concert with the French ambassador, undertook the office of mediators, and in 1738 framed a constitution which set limits to the assumptions of the council and the principal families, and was gratefully and all but unanimously accepted as a fundamental law by the burghers.

After four-and-twenty years of repose and prosperity, occasion was given to new political movements at Geneva by a

subject of a nature purely speculative. It pleased more than one government about this time to apply the doom of fire, which had been visited by inquisitors on the ill-fated victims of their zealotry, to certain of the more remarkable works of the human intellect,—a proceeding highly calculated to draw the eyes of the reading public on productions which seemed worthy of such signal condemnation. On the first appearance of that work of Rousseau which opened views so novel and so striking on the moral, and still more on the physical, education of man, the parliament of Paris had the work burnt by the hangman, and sentenced Rousseau to imprisonment, which he only escaped by flight. Both of these decisions were immediately repeated by the council of Geneva, which improved on them by launching a like condemnatory sentence against the *Contrat Social* of the same author. It was in vain that Rousseau's connexions demanded a copy of the sentence against him: their reiterated demands, though supported by a large body of burghers, were rejected by the council. The popular party, which vindicated the right of the burgher assembly to bring up representations or remonstrances against the council on any subject under discussion, distinguished themselves by the name of representatives. Their claims were met by asserting a *droit négatif*, or right of rejection, on the strength of which the council pretended that nothing that should not have been previously consented to by themselves could come before the general assembly. The partisans of the council were called *negatives*.

The tranquillity of Geneva was once more disturbed to such a degree by passionate discourses, party writings, and manoeuvres, that the ambassadors of Zurich, Berne, and France again interfered, and pronounced themselves in favor of the council. The representatives rejected their decision, the ambassadors left Geneva, French troops advanced on the town, and all trade and intercourse were suspended. But the French ministry speedily became lukewarm in the cause of the negatives. The latter, when they found themselves abandoned by all foreign aid; apprehending what might ensue, patched up a peace with the representatives. By a compact closed in March, 1768, the burghers acquired valuable rights, and even a third party, that of the so-called *natifs* or *habitans*, (old inhabitants, excluded by birth from taking part in public affairs,) obtained extended franchises, and was flattered with a prospect of participation in all the rights of citizenship. But on recovery from the first panic, reciprocal hatred soon revived. The negatives were vexed at having made such important sacrifices, and aimed at resuming all their former ascendancy. Moreover they found a favorable hearing in the French court, which had long

viewed with an evil eye the trade and wealth of Geneva, desired to raise the neighboring Versoix to a commercial town, and hoped, by encouraging tumult and disorder at Geneva, either to annihilate its industry and opulence, or ultimately to bring it under the sovereignty of France. French emissaries therefore aided the negatives in spiriting the *natifs* up against the representatives, by promising to confer on them the franchises withheld by the latter. But the representatives flew to arms, took possession of the gates, and speedily succeeded in disarming the unpractised and undisciplined mob of *natifs*. Well aware by what manœuvres the *natifs* had been led to revolt, they prudently abstained from taking any vindictive measures against them; but, on the contrary, imparted to them, in 1781, that equality of rights which had been promised by the negatives, and endeavored thus to win them over permanently to the common cause. The council, on the other hand, impelled by French influence, declared the newly-conferred rights illegally extorted, and invoked the mediation of Berne and Zurich. But betwixt representative stubbornness and negative assumption, the ambassadors of these towns could exert but limited influence. They essayed to put an end to disputes by amicable arrangements, but were baffled by the intrigues of the French court, which was resolved to recognize no democratical system on its frontiers, and soon proceeded to open force in support of its secret policy. The first act of aggression was to garrison Versoix; a measure which gave just offence to Zurich and Berne, who thereupon renounced all adhesion to the mediation of 1738, and left the Genevans to their own discretion. France also declared she would mix no more in the affairs of Geneva—the government was overthrown—and a new constitution established.

Zurich and Berne now declared formally and coldly that they could not acknowledge a government erected by revolt. Still more indignation was exhibited by France and Savoy, who entered into a league for the coercion of the town. Berne, too, joined this league in 1782, that the destiny of Geneva, that *point d'appui* of her own dominion, might not be trusted altogether to the caprice of foreign powers. On the appearance of the allied troops before the gates of Geneva, the burghers, unaware of the bad state of their defences, swore to bury themselves in the ruins of their native town rather than yield. But when the cannon of the besiegers was advanced up to their walls, and the alternative of desperate resistance or surrender was offered, the disunited city opened her gates without stroke of sword, after the principal heads of the representative party had taken to flight. Mortal dread accompanied the victorious troops as they entered Geneva. Many

had reason to tremble for their lives, their liberty, and possessions. No punishments, however, were inflicted, excepting only the banishment of the principal popular leaders; but the rights of the burghers were almost entirely annihilated by the arbitrary arrangements of the victors; the government was invested by them with almost unlimited power, and proceeded under their auspices to prohibit all secret societies, military exercises, books and pamphlets on recent events, and to reinforce the garrison by 1200 men under foreign leaders. Thus the town was reduced to utter subjection, and depopulated by exile and emigration. From thenceforwards commerce and enterprise fell into decay; and for seven long years a forced, unnatural calm dwelt in Geneva.*

During these years the government was conducted with much mildness, the administration of justice was impartial, that of the public revenues incorrupt, art and industry were encouraged to the utmost. But nothing could win the lost hearts of the people back to the government. The iniquity of the so-called *règlement* of 1782, the destruction of their franchises, and the disarming of their persons, had wounded irrecoverably the feelings of the burghers. The malcontents increased daily in number; and even many former negatives now disowned their party, which had gone greater lengths than they had ever wished or expected. At length, on the death of Vergennes, the French minister, and arch-enemy of Genevan independence, the spirit of freedom awoke with all its ancient strength in Geneva, and the burghers arose to break their slavish fetters. But the recital of the subsequent occurrences must be postponed until we come to notice the train of events fired by the French revolution.

The little principality of Neuchâtel, the succession of which had descended in the same line since the era of the second Burgundian monarchy, came, in 1707, into the hands of the king of Prussia, as next heir to the ancient house of Chalon. In 1748, Frederick II. displayed that love of economy which distinguished all his measures, by farming out certain parts of the public revenue arising from tithes, ground rents, and the crown lands; from the former administration of which many of the inhabitants had enjoyed considerable profits. The loss of these, of course, was felt as a grievance by the losers; but what was viewed with more concern by the mass of the inhabitants was the prospect of still farther innovations. Accordingly five communes of the Val de Travers transmitted their remonstrances through a delegate to Berlin; and their example was soon afterwards followed throughout the principality.

* See the Appendix.

The arrival of two commissaries, dispatched by the king to Neufchâtel, was viewed with discontent as an encroachment on its immunities. Shortly after their coming, an attempt was made to put in execution the proposed financial system, of which the only result was to provoke a tumultuous popular movement. On the 7th of January, 1767, the burgher assembly of Neufchâtel passed a resolution of exclusion from the rights of citizenship, against all who should farm or guaranty the farming of the revenues. On this the royal commissary, Von Derschau, brought a suit before the council of Berne, against the town of Neufchâtel; and the advocate-general, Gaudot, who had formerly been a popular favorite, much to the surprise of his fellow-citizens, seceded to the royal side, and thenceforwards gave his active assistance to the commissary.

The cause was decided at Berne (with some limitations) in the royal favor. With regard to the resolutions of the Neufchâtel burghers, already referred to, it was decreed that they should be cancelled in the presence of the burgher assembly, and a public apology made to the vice-governor; the costs of the whole process to be paid by the town. Gaudot, who had attacked the civic immunities both by word and writing, naturally became an object of popular indignation. By way of compensation, however, he received a lucrative government office, along with the functions of procurator-general, from which another man had been removed who possessed the popular favor. He returned to Neufchâtel from Berne with the royal plenipotentiaries. These and the vice-governor advised him to take up his residence in the castle; but, in spite of their recommendations, Gaudot thought fit to repair to his own residence. The same evening, clamor and disturbance took place around the house, which the magistrates were obliged to protect by military force. The next morning the mob returned in increased numbers, and was still farther exasperated by missiles being thrown down upon them. A carriage, escorted by servants in the royal livery, which had been sent by the king's commissary for Gaudot, was knocked to pieces by the infuriated multitude. Gaudot and his nephew now imprudently fired from the windows, and the shots took effect, fatally for themselves. The exasperated populace forced its way into the house; Gaudot was killed by three shots, and the mob dispersed after the deed, with cries of "Long live the king!" The chief actors in this tragedy escaped, and could be executed only in effigy. The whole affair was ultimately compromised by the benevolent moderation of the great Frederick; and terms of pacification were accepted by the communes, which provided alike against arbitrary government and popular tur-

bulence. On this occasion, Frederick displayed more generosity than would have been shown by any cantonal government; and his conduct seemed to justify the general reflection, which must often occur to the student of Swiss history, that when administrative abuses are introduced into a monarchy, it only requires a well-disposed and enlightened prince to crush the gang of official oppressors and extortioners; because such a prince is powerfully backed in such measures by the public opinion. Whereas, when the majority of the ruling class in misnamed republics is corrupted so far as to speculate on the profits of malversation, it generally takes care to recruit its ranks with new accomplices; or, at all events, only to promote to public offices such men as will at least shut their eyes to public abuses. The magnanimity of Frederick was but ill repaid to his successor by the tumults which ensued in Neuchâtel on the commencement of the French revolution; and we have lately seen the same misunderstandings, as in the last century, arise between the now *canton* of Neuchâtel and its Prussian sovereign.

CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE STATE OF SWITZERLAND SHORTLY BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE half century immediately preceding the French revolution was the first in which the frontiers of the Helvetic body had never been approached by foreign warfare. The load of taxes which pressed on neighboring nations was unknown in Switzerland; and most of her governments, exclusively defended by their armed populations, seemed as secure as military monarchies fenced with bayonets. It is therefore that those years have been described by some contemporaries as a season of halcyon calm, auspicious to every kind of improvement. Others, again, look back to them as a time of deplorable slavery; during which monopolies and corporation privileges had become acknowledged parts of the public regimen. The country might be compared to a well-fed and carefully-tended child, every one of whose movements, however, was kept under minute control.

The democratical cantons, where the assembled population exercised the supreme power in their *landsgemeinde*, held the lowest station, in almost every respect, amongst the confederates. Narrowness of mind and ignorant hatred of all innovation withstood every proposal of improvement; while passion and prejudice, aided by the artifices of demagogues, often

occasioned acts of crying injustice. Judicial proceedings were, in the highest degree, arbitrary; confession of crimes was extracted by torture; which, indeed, was often employed, when nothing more remained to confess. Capital punishment, even for minor offences, was by no means rare. Public offices, particularly that of bailiff or landvogt, were commonly conferred not on the worthiest, but on the highest bidder; and the proceeds of this ignominious traffic went to the public treasury. Was it to be wondered at if these functionaries in their turn set justice up to auction in their bailiwicks, and endeavored to recover their advances to the government by every sort of oppression of its subjects? Mental cultivation was extremely neglected in these cantons, scientific establishments were rare, and those for education were, for the most part, in the hands of the capuchins; whose *esprit de corps* was at least on one occasion beneficial, by preventing the admission of the jesuits into the canton of Schwytz in 1758. Elsewhere, however, similar influences produced worse effects. In Glarus, so late as 1780, an unfortunate servant girl was executed as a witch, on the charge of having lamed the leg of a child by magic, and having caused it to vomit pins. Credulous souls were even found to believe the affirmation that the girl had administered pin-seed through the medium of a magical cake, which had afterwards borne its fruit within the body of the child. The political relations of these cantons, in the period now before us, were of little importance.

The constitutions of the aristocratical cantons had all of them this circumstance in common, that not only the capital towns assumed the rule of the whole canton, but the burghers of those towns themselves were divided into ruling and non-ruling families, of which the former monopolized admission to all places of honor. But the governments of these cantons deserve to be treated of more at length.*

Berne, which, in the first period after its foundation, had no domains of any importance outside its walls, possessed in that immediately preceding the French revolution a territory containing more than 400,000 inhabitants. This considerable tract of land was administered by 250 ruling families, of which, however, only about sixty were in actual possession of the government; and these again were divided into so-called great and small families, and did not easily suffer others to rise to an equality with them. The sovereign power resided in 299 persons, of whom the great council was composed. A little council or senate of five-and-twenty formed the executive. The rural districts and the Pays de Vaud were governed by land-

* See the statistical tables in the Appendix.

vogts or bailiffs. It was chiefly there that discontent prevailed against the Bernese government. The nobles of the Pays de Vaud were rendered wholly insensible to the real and solid advantages secured to them by that government, by resentment of their exclusion from all public employments. The peasants of that district, for the most part subjects or bondsmen of the nobles, sighed under the weight of feudal oppression and its accustomed offspring, poverty, neglected culture, mental and moral abortion. A singular attempt at revolt was made in 1723 by major Daniel Abraham Davel, a well-intentioned man, of excellent character, but a decided political and religious enthusiast, possessed with the idea that he was called by inspiration to emancipate the Vaud from Berne. He assembled the regiment of militia which he commanded, under the pretext of a review, and with these troops, who were altogether ignorant of his real design, and unprovided with stores or ammunition, he surprised the town of Lausanne at a point of time when all the Bernese land-vogts had gone to Berne for the annual installation. Davel offered his aid for the restoration of independence to the hastily assembled town council. He found, however, no kindred spirit in that body; and the cautious citizens put him off with fair words till a force was under arms sufficient to crush him. Meanwhile his troops had discovered the real object of their commander, and shrunk from him in surprise and consternation. He himself was arrested, cruelly tortured for the discovery of accomplices, of whom he had none, and lastly beheaded.

A certain contempt of scholastic acquirements seemed the prevailing tone at Berne; and school education naturally came to deserve the low esteem which it met with. Accordingly those patrician youths who did not serve in the army remained for the most part unemployed until they obtained places under government. The establishment of what was called the *exterior state* afforded but a superficial substitute for more solid attainments, and initiated youth only too early in the petty intrigues and jealousies of faction. This institution, which was also known by the name of the *shadow state*, was intended to give the youth of the ruling families opportunities for acquainting themselves with the forms at least of public business, and of acquiring an unembarrassed address, so important for republicans. It parodized the dignities and offices of the state, the election of avoyers, councillors, and senators, had its secretaries and functionaries of all ranks, and distributed by lot 120 vogtships, which for the most part took their names from ruined castles. Without any sufficient evidence, some would refer to the era of the Burgundian war the origin of this institution, which received the sanction of government in 1687,

and for which a council-house, far more splendid than that which belonged to the actual government, was built in 1729. The seal of this *exterior state* bore an ape astride on a lobster, and looking at himself in a mirror. These and similar traits of humor seem to owe their descent to an era exceedingly remote from the measured formality of later times.

The government of Lucerne, which, with Soleure and Freyburg, formed the remaining pure Swiss aristocracies, consisted of a little council of six-and-thirty members, which, reinforced by sixty-four others, held the sovereign authority. With regard to intellectual cultivation, the most contradictory features were observable at Lucerne. On the one hand, learning, enlightenment, and patriotism were hereditary distinctions of some families; while, on the other hand, the mass was imbued with ignorant fanaticism. On the one hand, the encroachments of the papacy were resisted with inflexible firmness; while, on the other hand, the clergy kept possession of a highly mischievous influence in the state. On the one hand, a series of saints' days and holidays was abolished, as being dedicated to dissoluteness more than devotion; while, on the other hand, we are horror-struck by the burning of a so-called heretic. In 1747, a court, consisting of four clergymen, sentenced Jacob Schmidli of the Sulzig, a man of blameless life, to be strangled, and then burnt with his books and writings, because he had not only read the Bible for his private edification, but had explained and recommended it to others as the sole true basis of religion. His wife, his six children, and seventy-one other persons were banished, his house burnt to the ground by the hands of the public executioner, and a monument raised on its former site, to perpetuate the ignominy (query, of the victim or of his judges?).

The appearance of two pamphlets in 1769, on the question, "whether removal or restriction of the monastic orders might not be found beneficial to the Catholic cantons?" excited terrible uproar at Lucerne, where certain classes were constantly scenting danger to church or state from some quarter. The town and country clergy, and the bigots in the council, were rejoiced to get so good an opportunity to persecute the holders of free principles, and raised a deplorable howl, as if the canton were on the verge of destruction. The whole population was plunged in consternation and astonishment, by thundering sermons and rigorous prohibitions of the obnoxious work. Free-thinkers were fulminated against by name from the pulpits; and Schinznacht, which had witnessed the formation of the Helvetic society, was denounced as the focus and head-quarters of heresy. This society, which aimed at the diffusion of useful knowledge, public spirit, and union throughout the Helvetic

body, without reference to varieties of religion, rank, or political system, was founded by a knot of patriotic and instructed men, in the pious hope of arresting the decline of the confederation. At its commencement, it consisted of no more than nine members, but added to its numbers with astonishing rapidity. The society was soon viewed with an evil eye by the cantonal governments, which dreaded all independence of feeling and action in the people. At Berne, political dangers were anticipated from it, as symptoms of refractoriness were exhibited shortly after its formation by the nobles in the Vaud; while at Lucerne it was regarded as a conspiracy for shaking off the Catholic religion, and assisting the supposed ambition of Berne to gain ascendancy over the whole confederation.

The aristo-democratical governments next come under our notice, and in these, as in most of the purely aristocratical, the metropolis had obtained unlimited power over the whole canton. In these, however, particular families did not engross the sovereign power; the collective body of citizens had maintained themselves by means of the regulations of their guilds in the possession of considerable influence over the public affairs. Accordingly the magistracy favored the monopolies which enriched the metropolitan traders, and imposed restraints on the industry and invention of the surrounding country. Thence the subjects of these towns were much more harshly administered than those of the aristocratical cantons. Their ancient charters fell into oblivion, and were withdrawn as far as possible from public inspection; they were not only excluded from civil and military, but even from ecclesiastical functions; and the exercise of many branches of industry, and the sale of their productions in the towns, was wholly cut off by corporation privileges. Moreover, since the commencement of the century of which we are treating, no mode of acquiring the rights of burghers remained open; they were only conferred on extremely rare occasions to reward eminent merit; or when the times became troublesome to conciliate influential burghers. Hence that discontent and disaffection which broke out at the close of the century found a principal focus in the heart of the mixed aristocracies.

In the larger cantons the public administration was for the most part incorrupt; and that of justice was liable on the whole to fewer complaints than in many other European countries. The pay of public servants, with few exceptions, was extremely moderate. Men who had devoted their whole lives to public affairs, and who had filled the highest offices in the state, lost more than they gained by the bounty of their country. At Zurich, the expenses of the government were wholly defrayed without the imposition of taxes, properly so called,

from the revenues and interests of the national lands and capital, from ground-rents, tithes, the salt monopoly, and the produce of the premium paid by the several guilds of traders in return for their exclusive privileges. The same description is applicable to the government of Berne, excepting that here the course of justice was tedious and expensive. The superior financial resources of the latter canton enabled her to execute more for public ends than Zurich. Berne invested considerable sums in foreign securities, particularly in the English funds; and, besides, amassed a treasure amounting to some millions of dollars, which became, as we shall presently see, and as Mably had predicted, the booty of rapacious and powerful neighbors.

Very different was the condition of the *free* or common bailiwicks, particularly those of the democratical cantons; here most of the land-vogts sought by every species of extortion to indemnify themselves for the sums for which they had in fact *bought* their places from the general assemblies of their respective cantons. Many made an open traffic of justice; took presents from both parties; helped delinquents to evade deserved punishment who could pay for exemption, and exacted contributions from the wealthier class whenever and wherever they could. Even farther than in the German domains of Switzerland were abuses of this kind carried in the Italian bailiwicks, and most of all in those of the Grisons. The inevitable tendency of such treatment was to debase the popular character in those districts, and its effects have left unequivocal traces even to this day.

In those towns of which the constitution was grounded on corporate bodies, the privileges of the burghers and their guilds received progressive extensions. Propositions were made which would hardly have been conceivable in monarchical states, and could only, in fact, take place where particular classes had to decide upon the destiny of the rest of their fellow-countrymen. In Basle it was several times proposed, under the pretext of protection to agriculture, that the exercise of certain manufactures should be prohibited altogether in the rural part of the canton.

Agriculture was advanced by the cultivation of clover and of other artificial grasses, and by the consequent increase of pasturage and manure. Many districts which had formerly been regarded as unfruitful were thus rendered remarkable for fertility. The processes of manuring, and many others in Swiss cultivation, became a model for foreign agriculturists. Arts and manufactures were extended more and more widely. In the canton of Berne, in the Thurgau, and elsewhere, industry was employed on native materials in the linen-manufacture; in Zurich, St. Gall, and Appenzell, in working up imported

wool, in spinning, weaving, and cotton-printing. Silk manufactures occupied Zurich and Basle, and the latter town enriched itself by its riband manufacture. Trade in all its branches thrived at Geneva; where a wholesale watch manufacture was conducted, and from whence watchmaking was soon spread through the district of Neuchâtel, where it suggested many other mechanical processes.

Intellectual culture and social refinements marched abreast with commercial wealth. Not only the towns were embellished with architectural structures, but in the Emmenthal, and around the lakes of Zurich and Geneva, arose new and splendid edifices which bespoke increasing opulence. In Neuchâtel, which a century before had been inhabited by shepherds, the villages assumed the appearance of towns; and the wealthy marts of England or the Netherlands were recalled to the mind of the traveller by the principal street of Winterthur. Intercourse with other states in trade or in foreign services naturalized new wants and desires, yet many still adhered to the old usages and manners. In whole districts, especially in the democratic cantons, public opinion imperiously set limits to the advance of luxury. In other places sumptuary laws maintained a struggle with the various arts of invention and evasion; and a wholesome state of simplicity was preserved in Zurich, St. Gall, and Basle, in which celibacy became a sort of rarity.

Sciences and arts were diffused extensively in Switzerland. Albert von Haller, the labors of whose comprehensive mind were chiefly devoted to the sciences of botany and medicine, directed his attention also to politics and philosophy. Eloquence and daring imagination conferred European celebrity on Lavater. Rousseau promulgated truths in education and in politics, which will not be lost for future generations, whatever alloy of paradox or perverse misapplication they might suffer from himself or his followers. The merits of the Bernouillis, Eulers, Lamberts, Saussures, Bonnets, Tissots, Zimmermanns, and others, are still present to the memory of the literary public.

To render the war department of the confederacy more complete, and introduce into it some degree of unity, an association of military officers and magistrates was formed, which held its meetings at Aarau. More was done, however, for the military department by storing up munitions of war than by well-adapted martial exercise. Instead of attempting to give precision of movement to the militia, the slower manœuvres of regular troops were objects of imitation. The formation of the Zurich corps of sharpshooters, however, was more suitable to the real wants and nature of the country.

The bitterness of religious and political dissension which had long prevailed in so many odious forms began to decline, and the personal worth of men began to be estimated by less absurd criteria than their speculative opinions. Old prejudices vanished, or at all events were mitigated, and even if the recognition of principles more enlightened was with many a matter of fashion and imitation, still those may be deemed fortunate whose existence falls on a period in which truth and liberal sentiments find favor and adoption.

On the whole, the century was not worse than those which had preceded it. Even if the forms of government favored many abuses, a more extended spirit of activity prevailed amongst the people than in previous generations; and though it is true that no extraordinarily great actions were performed, it is also true that no great occasion called for their performance. It cannot be denied that too much jealousy prevailed between the cantons, and that more reliance was often placed on strangers than on fellow-confederates. But Germany, which united might have given law to Europe, had been even more distracted by like errors, reduced to a mere battle-field for foreigners, and robbed of its most valuable dependencies.

CHAPTER XXI.

FROM THE FIRST YEARS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.

1789—1802.

First Effects of the French Revolution in Switzerland.—Imitation of its Horrors at Geneva.—Policy of the French Directory.—Cisalpine Republic.—Insurrection of the Peasantry of Basle.—Diffusion of the Spirit of Revolt.—Insolence of Commissary Mengaud.—Troops of Brune and Schauenburg enter Switzerland.—Capture of Berne.—Death of General Friach.—Erection of a "Constitution Unitaire."—Struggle and Subjection of the Forest Cantons.—Fall of the old Helvetic League.—Anarchy and Tyranny.

THE Swiss governments, as well as that large portion of their subjects who were contented with their condition, and desired no alteration in it, were startled out of a state of perfect tranquillity by the first shock of the French revolution. The shifting of the whole political scenery of Europe surrounded them with entirely new embarrassments. They resembled steersmen tolerably capable of guiding their bark safely through the tempests of their native lakes; but who found themselves now on unknown seas without chart or compass. The situation of the Swiss regiments engaged in the French service, afforded the first reason for inquietude; the next was the apprehension of infection from the principles predominant

in France. Alarming political movements soon began in the interior; and the solution of the problems which were set before Swiss politicians by the progress of events in the neighboring countries was the more difficult the more various were the views, wants, and relations of the cantons, and the lands which were subject to them.

It was in the latter districts, as might have been expected, that the new ideas gained the greatest currency, and that the first attempts were made for their realization. Educated and thinking men in the subject towns and territories brooded resentfully on their exclusion from all public posts and dignities. In those cantons where trade and manufactures were most cultivated, it was regarded as an intolerable hardship by the enterprising and wealthy rural proprietor, that he was hindered by oppressive regulations from purchasing the requisite raw materials, or from disposing of the products of his industry in any quarter except to a wholesale dealer of the capital. Similar resentments were excited by corporate privileges. Nevertheless, in the German regions of Switzerland, a longer time elapsed before the new modes of thinking, and the comparisons which they suggested, set the public mind in motion. This took place much sooner in the west, where the French language and neighborhood made communication easier; above all, in Geneva, where nothing but an auspicious hour was waited for to burst asunder a yoke imposed by foreigners.

A rise in the price of bread, which was imputed to the government, gave occasion to the long-prepared explosion. On the 26th of February, 1789, the burghers assailed the garrison with every thing which could be turned into a weapon of offence. Fire-engines with boiling water supplied the place of artillery: the garrison was put to the rout, and the power of the government overturned the more easily, as its foreign props had now ceased to support it. The ruling class was compelled to throw itself wholly on the citizens, to restore the ancient liberties of the town, and to recall the banished heads of the representatives. But the hour was come for the ruin of Genevan independence. The country people and *habitans* of the town now demanded an equality of rights with the burghers, on the model of republican France; and the latter power was induced to second their wishes, by the suggestions of the ex-representative Clavière. The malcontents were kept for a while in check by troops from Berne and Zurich; but, on the withdrawal of these in 1792, the country people, *habitans* and *natifs*, flew to arms, made themselves masters of the town, deposed the government, and established, on the model of France, a national convention, with committees of general safety and of public welfare.

A show of moderation and tranquillity lasted some time longer; but distrust and exasperation received continual new aliment, and the disinterested friends of peace could hardly prevent some furious outbreak. Many votes were gained to a proposed new constitution, by the hope of securing order and repose; and in the beginning of 1794 it was adopted by a large majority. In April, syndics and council were again installed in their former functions, and the event was announced to Zurich and Berne with expressions of hope and confidence. Berne, however, could not resolve, on the instant, to give the name of confederates to these newly re-established authorities; and what had been done had no effect in mitigating the violence of those who put themselves forwards as the organs of the multitude, which they first set in motion for their own purposes, and then were forced, in turn, to flatter its passions, in order to continue popular favorites. Meanwhile, the price of necessaries rose, while trade and industry stagnated; and the repeated demands for so-styled free-will offerings to the public were answered by supplies more and more sparing.

In order to crush, at a stroke, all resistance, and to furnish themselves with the necessary stores and ammunition, the party of terrorists made a nocturnal seizure of the arsenal in July, 1794, occupied all the posts in warlike array; and filled the prisons of the town, and even the corn magazine, with nearly six hundred men, whom they chose to designate as aristocrats; and amongst whom were a number of the most respectable members of the magistracy, merchants, and men of letters. Of eight of the prisoners first examined, a revolutionary tribunal contented itself with sentencing one to death; but the clamor and threats of the multitude worked on these unsteady judges to retract their verdict, and extend the same condemnation to all the others. The doom of four of these was commuted for banishment by the general assembly; but a band of wretches again collected, stormed the prisons, and the bloody tribunal now sentenced their victims to be shot; and afterwards endeavored to excuse itself on the plea that this had only been done to prevent worse atrocities. More executions followed, which included several persons who had actively promoted revolution. Numbers were banished, in order to secure the ruling party a majority in the general assembly. The large sums required by a revolutionary government for the payment of public officers, and the armed force of the populace, were defrayed by imposing heavy contributions on the possessors of property; *indifferentists* being made to pay double, *aristocrats*, a treble amount.

Party spirit, however, cooled by degrees; approximations and concessions took place between all classes of citizens, who

felt, in common, the general ruin of public and private happiness; and the disappointment of all the hopes which had formerly found indulgence. In 1796, a return to the old constitution was agreed upon, on condition of equality of rights being conceded to the old and new burghers, and the town and country inhabitants. The exiles returned home, and all rejoiced that they could again breathe freely. For two years more, the little republic dragged on an infirm existence; till it was finally united with France in 1798, and forced to partake, for fifteen years, the destinies of that country.

Of the men who had at different times been banished for political offences from Switzerland, many had taken refuge in the French metropolis, and endeavored to persuade the republican statesmen that their enemies were equally those of France: their representations found the easier audience, as Switzerland was already regarded with greedy eyes by their hearers. "At an early period of the revolution," observes an English writer,* "the views of France were directed towards Switzerland, as well from its importance as a barrier on her eastern frontier, as from its central position between the German empire and Italy. The reduction, therefore, of Switzerland, was a favorite object of the republican rulers, and was only suspended by the dread of adding its people to the host of enemies who menaced France on all sides; they accordingly temporized under the mask of friendship, and succeeded in preserving the neutrality of the Helvetic confederacy, by fomenting the national antipathy to the house of Austria. Yet even during this specious display of friendship, their agents industriously spread disaffection, and prepared the mine which was ready to explode on the first favorable opportunity: such an opportunity presented itself at the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, which left the Swiss without an ally on the Continent. At this period the French republic had acquired a colossal strength. The king of Sardinia, deprived of half his territory, was the vassal of France; the pope, and the king of Naples, owed the possession of a precarious sceptre to the forbearance of the directory; Prussia pertinaciously maintained her close connexion with the new republic; and Austria, vanquished by the genius of Bonaparte, had concluded a dishonorable peace."

"But the French rulers were not content with planting the tricolored flag on the summit of Mont Blanc, on the left bank of the Rhine, and at the mouth of the Scheldt, and with establishing the limits of their empire by the natural boundaries of the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Mediterranean and the ocean.

* Coxo.

With a view to secure their territories against the future aggressions of the continental powers, they purposed to form a series of dependent republics along the line of their frontiers, as a kind of outwork, to remove the point of attack. At the extremities of this line they had already established the Ligurian and Batavian republics; the Cisalpine soon followed. A connecting link of this chain was Switzerland, which covered the most vulnerable parts of the French territory; and, from its natural strength and central position, formed the citadel of Europe.”*

Besides these motives, acknowledged by the French themselves, their rapacity was stimulated by the treasures known to exist at Berne and elsewhere, the amount of which, as usual, was enormously exaggerated. What was required, in short, was not a motive but a pretext for intermeddling with the internal regulations of the Helvetic body. That body had avoided giving offence, with the utmost caution; had recognized every successive form of government in France; and had turned out of their territories the unfortunate French emigrants who had fled thither for refuge from the rage of their own countrymen.

The triumphs of Napoleon in Italy were concluded by the construction of the Cisalpine republic. The Swiss subjects of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, were tempted to desire participation in the freedom thus established on their borders; and Napoleon offered the Grisons the alternative of conceding equal rights to these districts, or of seeing them included in the new Cisalpine state. Parties ran so high on this proposal, that no friendly understanding was possible; and when the term allowed for reply elapsed without any being given, Napoleon put his threat into effect, and confiscated all property belonging to the Grisons contained in the above-mentioned districts.

Such was the first encroachment on the ancient limits of Switzerland: shortly afterwards the bishopric of Basle was annexed to France. Great consternation was caused by these proceedings in the confederation; but still more serious evils were at hand. In the canton of Basle the peasantry murmured loudly against the town: in the Aargau several towns advanced tumultuous claims against Berne, for the recovery of their old and chartered rights; and the Pays de Vaud reclaimed its freedom with more impatience than ever. It was said besides, that a French army was already marching on Switzerland; ostensibly to support the claims of the malcontents, but really to make themselves masters of the land for

* See the Appendix.

their own purposes. Berne and Freyburg hastily levied forces for the coercion of their turbulent dependencies; and a diet of the confederacy was summoned at Aarau. Much was said and nothing done at this meeting, as the cantonal governments neither trusted each other nor their subjects. The members of the diet renewed the original league of the cantons, as if urged by the presentiment of its coming dissolution. The oath had hardly been taken, when a messenger from Basle brought the intelligence that the mansions of the landvogts were in flames; that a large body of peasantry had entered the town, and that all the subject districts had declared themselves free.

The spectacle of feebleness and fear in the authorities, combined with dogged resistance to the wishes of the people, of course diffused, instead of quelling, the spirit of revolt. As in the thirteenth and succeeding century, the prerogatives of the nobles had been forced to yield to the claims of a class of burghers and of shepherds, so soon as the example of the Lombard towns, and the growth of public prosperity, had excited independence of feeling; so likewise, in the times of which we are treating, it had ceased to be within the power of a privileged class to contend with success against the claims of the so-called *third order*, encouraged as it was by the example of France. Some districts, indeed, took no part in the prevalent agitations, and pertinaciously adhered to the accustomed order of things; others, more distinguished for enlightenment and enterprise, demanded an equality of rights in town and country; others, again, required the restoration of ancient franchises: some regarded nothing as attainable but by French interference; while nobler minds retained an insurmountable abhorrence for the agency of strangers in the internal affairs of their country.

It became more and more evident, that the policy of the French directory led them to foment intestine discord in Switzerland. For several years past it had been observed, that foreign emissaries set themselves to work upon the public opinion. A person of the name of Mengaud made his appearance at Basle, under the unusual and equivocal title of *commissary*, and set his seal on the papers of the French embassy: this individual not only made no secret of his intelligence with the malcontents in Switzerland, but affected to display it ostentatiously. He went to Berne on the 10th of October, 1797, where he demanded, in a note addressed to the government, the dismissal of the English ambassador, Wickham, who had certainly exerted himself openly against France, but had done so as the envoy of a power at war with that country. Berne referred the demand of Mengaud to the then directing

canton, as a matter which concerned the whole confederacy. Wickham relieved for a moment the embarrassment of the Helvetic body, while he deprived the French directory of a present pretence for violence, by taking his departure on a tour into Germany; but he left an able diplomatist behind him in the person of his secretary Talbot. Mengaud was received at Zurich and Berne with undisguised aversion, and no diplomatic visits were paid him at either of these places. In the month of November, an embassy from the latter town had been sent to Paris; which, though admitted to an audience of the director Barras, soon received a rude dismissal homewards.

Great were the hopes infused into the disaffected party by the promises of Mengaud, and other subordinate agents of France; and proportional fears were excited amongst the friends of the old system, including the greater number of public functionaries. In order to increase their uneasiness, Mengaud threatened the diet of the confederation in January, 1798, with the entrance of French troops into Switzerland, should Austria be suffered to occupy the Grisons. He travelled to the place of meeting at Aarau, with tricolored flags flying from his carriage; and, on his arrival there, hung out an immense banner in front of his house. The triumphant revolutionists of Basle had already formed a tricolored flag of their own, by the addition of green to their former cantonal colors, black and white; and their delegate at Paris, Ochs, had hastily sketched what he called an Helvetic constitution, on the model of that of the French republic. This document was printed in Italian, French, and German, and distributed by Mengaud, not in official quarters only, but throughout the whole population of the cantons.

In the mean time, a division of the French army, under Menard, appeared on the western frontier; and the Pays de Vaud, protected by it, declared its independence of Berne. The Bernese government saw the necessity of trying the force of arms on its subjects; and the command of the forces having been declined by councillor Erlach of Spiez, who had hitherto been one of the strongest asserters of aristocracy, it was conferred on colonel Rudolf Weiss, who had, till then, sustained the character of a champion of the opposite system; and had contributed, by a published work,* to the favorable temper of the partisans of Robespierre towards the Swiss confederation. An unusual delegation of full powers placed in his hands the whole military government of the Vaud. The new commander held conferences with the leaders of the malcontents; pub-

* Coup-d'œil sur les relations politiques entre la république Française et le corps Helvétique. 1793.

lished a treatise intended to conciliate them,* but intermixed conciliation with menace. Chillon was recovered by surprise from the insurgents, and the German troops of Berne were moved on the frontiers of the Vaud. Meanwhile, general Menard was already on the lake of Geneva, with 10,000 men of the conquering army of Italy; and to him the insurgent leaders, alarmed for their own safety, addressed themselves. Menard replied, that he was instructed to give them aid and protection; and threatened colonel Weiss that he would repel force with force, if the former should persist in drawing troops around a territory already declared independent, and in arming the communes against each other. Without taking any measures of defence,—without even attempting to maintain himself on the high grounds,—Weiss withdrew to the neighborhood of Yverdun. It happened, accidentally, that two French hussars were shot on the outposts of the Bernese army, because they had not immediately answered the challenge of the sentinels. This incident was taken up by Menard, and afterwards by the directory, as an infringement of the law of nations, and commencement of hostilities.

The revolution of Basle, and the entrance of French troops into the Pays de Vaud, rendered it impossible for reflecting men any longer to doubt that sweeping social changes were inevitable. Yet the Swiss democracies would not be persuaded that any one could shake their constitutions, or force on them a new species of freedom. The numerous friends of *things as they were* still hoped to steer themselves through the crisis without any great sacrifices, by mere dint of tenacity and delay. Many, moreover, flattered themselves with the notion that the plans of France were levelled at no wider mark than the Vaud; and were prompted by a petty feeling of jealousy towards Berne, to see nothing in the affair but a mortification to that envied canton.

It could hardly be conceived at Berne, that the French should have advanced without meeting any resistance up to Yverdun, while the head-quarters of colonel Weiss were withdrawn behind Avenche. He was instantly dismissed from his command, which was transferred to general Erlach of Hindelbank; but the evil effects of exorbitant discretionary powers had been so sensibly felt that the opposite extreme was now adopted. Meanwhile, the leading statesmen of Berne had, at length, become convinced that concessions must be made to the people. Fifty-two members were added to the great council from amongst the burghers, citizens of the minor towns, and rural inhabitants. It was resolved to introduce, within a

* Réveillez-vous, Suisses, le danger approche.

year's time, a new constitution; in which admission to every public function should be open to all, and due proportion should be observed in the emoluments of all public services. These resolutions were laid before the directory, together with a demand for the withdrawal of the French troops. The government also stooped to make a like communication to Mengaud, to acquaint him with the actual political system of Berne, and inform him of the wish of that canton to preserve peace with France. Mengaud made just such an answer as ought to have been expected from him. He demanded a prompt and complete change of the old political system, declared that farther delays could not be suffered by the *majesty* of the French republic; and designated the persevering defenders of the existing order as a handful of inveterate tyrants.

Disregarding their own positive engagements, the French, on the 8th of February, took possession of the town of Bienne. Yet the confederates still hoped to conciliate France, and were encouraged in this illusion by general Brune, who now commanded the French troops, reinforced by several thousand men, and fixed his head-quarters at Payerne. This subtle leader, who, without having performed a lengthened public career, was, to borrow a diplomatic expression, *rompu dans les affaires*, proposed, with artful blandishments, and with hinted hopes of peaceful adjustment, an armistice of fourteen days; during which the discipline and enthusiasm of the Bernese army had time to abate, indecision and distrust to increase, and recruits to join the French army.

Meanwhile, general Schauenburg had collected a division of troops on the frontiers of Soleure and Berne, equal in strength to that of Brune. The latter announced, on the 26th of February, that he had received full powers to treat from the executive directory. He proposed his ultimatum to the Swiss delegates, that without farther delay they should introduce a provisional government, take measures for the establishment of a new constitution, with securities for freedom and equality, liberate all prisoners for political offences, and withdraw their own troops, as well as those of the other cantons. On the due fulfilment of these conditions, the French troops should be drawn off likewise; and should not again enter the Swiss territory, unless the government called for their assistance.

On the very day when Brune had given his insolent ultimatum, Erlach entered the great council at Berne, accompanied by eighty of his officers, who were members, like himself, of that body. In a moment of unusual resolution, he was invested with full powers to commence hostilities on the close of the armistice. However, two days afterwards, the delegates returned from Brune's encampment at Payerne. Erlach and his

brothers in arms were no longer present in council; the rest of that body were paralyzed by the imminent and gigantic danger; and the full powers which had just been given the general were taken away. The same evening, Erlach received instructions *not* to attack the French, which fired his troops with anger and suspicion, and tended to confirm the belief in the treachery of their leaders, already widely prevalent in the army. Brune's ultimatum, in all its principal features, was accepted. The delegates of Zurich, Wyss, and Tscharnier, sought a conference with him, when he renewed his former offers in cold and peremptory language; but now added a novel stipulation to them, namely, that, even after the confederate troops were disbanded, his should remain till the new constitution should be established. It was affirmed, truly or otherwise, that he granted, without difficulty, an extension of the truce for twenty-four hours; notwithstanding which, the delegates, on their return, saw his troops already in motion for the attack. Orders for the commencement of hostilities had also been forwarded from the council of war at Berne to the army, and, two hours afterwards, retracted. In obedience to the first of these contradictory instructions, the Bernese colonel Gross had given notice to the French out-posts that the truce would come to an end at ten in the evening of the 1st of March; but when he withdrew his former announcement on the arrival of counter-orders, Schauenburg would admit no further parley. He had already attacked, without warning, the old castle of Dornach, in the neighborhood of Basle, which sustained a siege of twenty-four hours. The attack of a Bernese division near Vingels was repulsed with loss, and the French surprised the Bernese posts at Lengnau, which they carried after an obstinate resistance. The town of Soleure capitulated, on Schauenburg's appearance before it. The passage across the Aar now lay open to the French troops. Freyburg was attacked and taken, though a stand was made by the Bernese garrison.

Erlach was now compelled to draw his troops behind the Aar and the Sense; though it was not without extreme reluctance that the men of Berne abandoned Morat. On the 3d of March, Brune destroyed one of the finest monuments of Swiss courage and union, the Ossuary of Morat; and the French, among whom were many natives of Burgundy, honored the bones of their ancestors with a grave, after an interval of more than 300 years. Now at length Berne, Soleure, and Freyburg proclaimed a levy *en masse* of the able-bodied men within their territories. The Bernese army was in a dreadful state of confusion; particularly that division which stood directly opposed to Brune, in which the distrust and exasperation of the soldiers were at their highest pitch. Officers were dismissed by their

soldiers, and others put in their place. Colonels Stettler and Ryhiner were bayoneted and shot, before the very gates of Berne; and colonels Crusez and Goumoens fell beneath the sabre-strokes of their own dragoons. Nevertheless, the troops were again assembled under command of Grafenried, who was admirably supported by his officers, and repulsed the French in every attempt to charge them at the point of the bayonet. Eighteen cannons were taken from the enemy, and their loss in men besides was very considerable.

The native troops had now fully recovered spirit and confidence; but just as Grafenried prepared to cross the Sense at Neueneck, the decisive intelligence arrived that Berne was in the hands of the enemy! Early on the 5th, an attack had been made by Schauenburg on Soleure. His force was far numerically superior to the Bernese; his horse artillery terrified the native militia by its novelty, and his cavalry was nearly eightfold that of Berne in numbers. At Fraubrunnen, the French turned the left flank of the Bernese: in the Grauholz and at Breitenfeld their militia under Erlach offered a brave resistance, armed with scythes and other agricultural implements. Men, women, and even children mixed, and fell in the mortal struggle. On its unsuccessful issue, ensued the capitulation of Berne.

All was lost:—the armed bands of the peasantry dispersed in every direction with loud accusations of treason against their officers, many of whom were slain by their own men. Amongst these was the general Erlach, an illustrious name in the annals of Berne. That unfortunate commander, and the avoyer Steiger, when the fortune of the day was decided, retreated towards the Oberland, whither they knew that arms and money had already been dispatched by the government, and where they still hoped to offer an effective resistance. But Erlach was murdered in the way by the enraged fugitives, who breathed nothing but revenge for their imaginary betrayal, and it was only by chance that Steiger did not meet a similar fate.

Even public extremity could not restore public spirit. Every little canton treated, armed, and cared, for itself exclusively, totally regardless of the rest. Wherever the authorities had, till then, withheld freedom from their subjects, they no longer delayed to grant it; but bestowed emancipation with so ill a grace, as to indicate how gladly they would have refused it, had they dared.

France now assumed a tone of direct command, and proclaimed the dissolution of the Helvetic body, and the establishment of a *constitution unitaire*, embracing the whole of Switzerland under one uniform system of government. This system announced a perfect equality of rights between the inhab-

itants of the towns and of the villages, assigned the nomination of judges, magistrates, and legislators, to the people in their primary assemblies, and intrusted to the government the choice of executive functionaries. The founders of this new Helvetic republic next proceeded to the more material objects of their mission. They levied large contributions on the towns, appropriated the treasures amassed at Berne, Zurich, Soleure, and Freyburg, and carried off many members of council and other persons, as hostages for the further payments exacted from those places.

But the people of Uri, Nidwalden, Schwytz, and Glarus, were resolved not to deliver up their old independence so easily, and organized an heroic, though an useless, resistance under their brave leader Aloys Reding. The most brilliant and the most sanguinary struggle took place at Rothenthurm, in the neighborhood of the battle-field of Morgarten. These Alpine shepherds combated with a spirit and success which showed them not unworthy of their forefathers. Thrice were the attacks of regular troops, four times their number, repulsed, with serious loss on the side of the enemy. But the vigor of this peasant militia was exhausted by their very successes, and they were, finally, compelled to accept terms from the invaders, and to bow beneath the yoke of the Helvetic republic. Thus ended the old Swiss confederation, after enduring for a term of nearly five centuries. "It fell," says an enlightened native historian,* "not exactly for want of strength in the bands which held it together; for, without any stronger bond of union the old confederates won their freedom, crushed or repelled the force of mighty antagonists, and rendered themselves powerful and formidable. The Swiss succumbed in the last unfortunate struggle, because the feeling of duty, the lofty faith in their country and its fortunes, had become chilled in the bosoms of the many, and because the democratical cantons thought of none but themselves."

While the well-instructed friends of their country regretted the rude violence with which every link in the system of society, from the Alps to the Jura, had been totally torn away from its ancient holdings, they could not fail to perceive the ultimate benefits educible from the general convulsion. The former aggregation of little states had been productive of ostrangement and enmity; the cantons had been proved powerless, even for self-defence; separately too poor for public enterprises; collectively incapable of any combined action. But now an opportunity seemed to be given to the Swiss people of becoming one great family, enjoying equal rights. The mass

* Ludwig Meyer.

of the people, however, was not penetrated by such ideas, and only deplored the breach made in their old habits and usages. They had, indeed, demanded freedom and independence, but not this melting up into an uniform mass. They would have preferred that every petty district, nay, every single valley, should become a free and independent canton, ruling itself in its own assemblies, according to its own pleasure, and only connected by federal ties with the rest of the Swiss people. The whole subsequent march of events tended only to increase the desire for a subdivided federative system of this kind, and the aversion for the newly established order. The new general government, called an executive directory, after its prototype at Paris, resided at Aarau without inspiring either respect or confidence, dependent on its sole protectors, the French plenipotentiaries. In the senate and the great council, composed of delegates from all the cantons, the conflicting opinions of parties caused an incessant wordy warfare. Out of doors the same parties abandoned parliamentary weapons, and asserted their discordant creeds with arms in their hands. New and old laws and regulations were perpetually coming in collision. While the state was often without the most indispensable means for its maintenance, and even for the daily pay of its functionaries, the French plenipotentiaries, leaders, and subalterns, rioted in shameless superfluities at the cost of the country, and sent to France the surplus of their plunder.

The discontents of the people were considerably aggravated by the murmurs and manœuvres of the *ci-devant* authorities; of the monks who apprehended the abolition of all monasteries; of the priests who had suffered diminution of their stipends, and of the traders and artisans in the towns who no longer enjoyed the sweets of corporations and monopolies. They trusted to the approaching renewal of war between France and Austria, and prepared to support the emperor for the expulsion of the French. When the whole population was summoned, in July, 1798, to take the oath of allegiance to the newly formed constitution, disturbances and revolts took place in the Rheinthal, Oberland, Appenzell, and other districts. These were suppressed by military force, the use of which in Nidwalden was accompanied by extraordinary circumstances of horror. Here Paul Styger, a capuchin, with others of the clergy, had spirited the people up to a desperate resistance, on the ground that the French constitution was an immediate work of Satan. They armed themselves against the overwhelming force of Schauenburg, against which they made head for three whole days, with a loss to the French of from 3000 to 4000 men. The enemy took a merciless revenge for the resistance of this little band of shepherds, by the burning

of Stans and Stans-stadt, and the massacre of every living being which they found in these places. The 9th day of September, 1798, witnessed the slaughter of nearly 400 inhabitants of Nidwalden, with every possible circumstance of atrocity.

War with France was at length renewed by the emperor of Austria, and a division of his army entered the Grisons. A signal defeat sustained by the French troops near Stockach, in Swabia, the victorious advance of the Austrian army into Switzerland, and the removal of the seat of the Helvetic government from Lucerne to Berne, seemed to inspire the conflicting parties with renewed animation and fury. Swiss fought against Swiss, under the banners of France and Austria; tumults and revolts took place on account of the French conscription or in favor of the Austrian invasion; battles were fought between foreign armies in the valleys, on the Alps, and on the banks of the lakes; and horse and man clambered over heights which had formerly been only known to the chamois hunter. The Grisons and the mountainous lands as far as the St. Gothard, were alternately won and lost by French and Germans. The victorious banners of Austria were carried on the left as far as Zurich and the St. Gothard, on the right up to the banks of the Rhine, supported by the Russians under Suwarrow. Switzerland had never sustained such desolating inroads since the times of the Romans, Alemanni, and Burgundians.

Many of the old superseded members of the government now looked forward to the speedy restoration of their authority, which they here and there attempted to recover with the assistance of the Austrian bayonets: even the new abbot of St. Gall resumed the exercise of his feudal rights, such as they had existed before the recent emancipation which had been granted to the people. The effects of this iniquitous resumption did not fail soon to be felt by the proud prelate himself; Zurich and Schaffhausen, too, were soon forced to acknowledge that the people did not wish to be replaced in its state of subjection. The decisive and brilliant victory of Massena near Zurich, and the destruction of Suwarrow's army, which had marched over the Alps from Italy, restored the Helvetic constitution throughout the whole country. Parties now supplanted and succeeded each other in quick succession, so that none could remain long at the helm or consult for the public benefit. First of all, the legislative councils dissolved the executive directory, and substituted for it an executive committee; then in its turn, this executive committee dissolved the councils, convoked a new legislature, and styled itself executive council. Twelve months afterwards a general Helvetic diet was assembled at Berne for the formation of a new and improved

constitution: this, like the former deliberative bodies, was arbitrarily deposed from its functions, and a newest-of-all constitution established, in October, 1801. Aloys Reding, the victor of Rothenthurm, as the foremost Swiss landamman, was placed at the head of the senate; but as he neither possessed the confidence of the French rulers, nor that of those who detested all recurrence to the old state of things, a new act of arbitrary power deposed him from the presidency of the council.

These continued changes of administration were looked upon with absolute indifference by the Swiss people, who only sighed at the total interruption of law and order, the increase of taxes, and the lawless acts of the French soldiery. The Valais more particularly suffered by the military tyranny to which it was subjected. The object of France was to separate it from Switzerland, in order to keep a route open across the Alps into Italy.

In the same degree as popular consideration ceased to attend the ever-changing, but equally odious, aspects of the new government, individual opinions and wild fancies obtained prevalence. Mystical views were propagated in Appenzell; and the anabaptists reared their heads once more in Berne and Zurich. The quiet of the former town and its neighborhood was suddenly disturbed by a swarm of fanatics from Amsoldingen. Two years before, a quack doctor and fanatic, by name Antony Unternerer, had fixed his abode in that village. A certain flow of language, combined with prepossessing manners, and the profuse employment of benedictory formulas in human diseases, as well as in those of cattle, had gained for this fellow the confidence of the multitude. He held meetings in which particular parts of the New Testament were interpreted in a new and peculiar manner; and his adherents ceased their attendance on the ordinary divine service. Unternerer addressed a summons in writing to the supreme tribunal of Berne, to appear, with all its prisoners and their keepers, in the cathedral church on the morning of Good Friday, when the Savior of the world would ascend the pulpit, and hold his judgment. He also summoned all his disciples to meet at Berne on the same day. Many of them had already remained during several days assembled together; and, anticipating the coming judgment, had transferred their worldly possessions to others. Curiosity drew a multitude together from all quarters. Unternerer himself was announced as Savior by his adherents; and seditious projects peeped out under the mantle of fanaticism. However, such a wholesome effect was produced by the arrest of the ringleader, the consignment of his most conspicuous followers to the lunatic hos-

pital, and the billeting of dragoons in the houses of others, that the poor enthusiasts soon came to their senses, lamented the error of their ways, and the transfer of their properties.

The peace of Amiens, betwixt France and the other belligerent powers, in consequence of which the French garrisons were drawn home out of Switzerland, afforded opportunity to the party and provincial spirit to show itself with new vigor. On the 12th of July, Montrichard, the French resident in Switzerland, communicated in an extra-official note to the Helvetic landamman, Dolder, that he had received commands from the minister of war to hold himself, with the troops under his orders, in readiness for instant return to France. The landamman laid this note before the then executive council, who were considerably embarrassed by its import, and addressed themselves to Montrichard and to the Swiss ambassador at Paris, to petition for a postponement of the measure. But shortly afterwards, Boizot, secretary of the Helvetic embassy, arrived from Paris with Talleyrand's note, which fixed for the approaching 20th of July the complete evacuation of Switzerland. It was now out of the question for the heads of the Helvetic government to oppose themselves to a measure invoked by the wishes of a large majority. Accordingly the executive council did its best to assume an unconstrained and easy attitude; and with all expedition voted its liveliest thanks to the first consul for his purpose of withdrawing his troops from Switzerland, which they hailed as the highest proof of his benevolence and respect for the independence of the Helvetic nation. The reply of the French minister was couched in terms of disinterested delicacy, which almost seemed ironical. He talked of the French troops as the battalions which the first consul had *consented* to leave in Switzerland on the conclusion of peace. He based the proposed measure on the confidence entertained by the first consul in the virtues of the Helvetic people, who were now better agreed, as he said, on the principles of political organization, and in whose attachment the government would find sufficient securities for the maintenance of order and tranquillity. "The Helvetic government could not but regard this resolution as a pledge of the consul's confidence in its friendly intentions and policy, and of his disinclination to meddle with the internal affairs of other nations."

It is impossible to assign with any certainty the motives by which this ambiguous language and conduct were dictated. The first consul may have meant to give a popular example of moderation and respect for the faith of treaties; or he may have designed a covert chastisement for the feeble attempts at independence made by the Helvetic government, and its re-

fusal of unconditional acquiescence in the projected separation of the Valais; or he may have wished to extort an express prayer for the stay of his troops, or to revive the struggle of parties, and compel the Helvetic government to throw itself into the arms of France, and urge him, as though against his will, to assume the part of arbiter and ruler; or, finally, perhaps, the best solution of his conduct may be found by supposing the combination of all or most of these motives.

Conformably with the system thus enforced upon them, the executive council made known to the Swiss people the departure of the French troops, as a gracious boon, the offer of which they had eagerly accepted. In effect, the removal of these troops was performed with such celerity, that none were left behind but the sick in the hospitals, and a handful of men here and there to guard whatever French property was not of a movable description.

The news of the retreat of the French troops, and the ill-concealed uneasiness of the government, flew through the country with wonderful rapidity, and everywhere roused the concealed but numerous enemies of the existing order, who had hitherto lurked inactively, as it were in scattered cantonments. The Valais declared itself independent. Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden took up arms against the Helvetic government. The town of Zurich, likewise, threw off allegiance to it; an example which was speedily followed by Schaffhausen and Basle. A general levy took place in the Aargau against Berne: the helpless Helvetic government fled for refuge to Lausanne, while a diet was held in Schwytz for the restoration of the old league. The feeble body of troops in the pay of the government were driven from the interior of the country, and followed their employers into the Vaud: everywhere the opposite factions prepared for active hostilities; the towns planned the destruction of the general government; the peasants armed for their freedom against the pretensions of the towns; and the Pays de Vaud arrayed itself in defence of Helvetic unity. Blood had already flowed, and civil war appeared inevitable, when Napoleon turned his eyes again upon Switzerland, and commanded peace in a tone which was not apt to meet with resistance.

"Inhabitants of Switzerland!" (such were the terms of a declaration addressed by him through general Rapp to the cantons of the Helvetic republic,) "you have presented, during two years, a melancholy spectacle. Sovereign power has alternately been seized by opposite factions, whose transitory and partial sway has only served to illustrate their own incapacity and weakness. If you are left to yourselves any longer, you will cut one another to pieces for years, without any pros-

pect of coming to a rational understanding. Your intestine discord never could be terminated without the effective interposition of France. I had resolved not to mix in your affairs; but I cannot and will not view with indifference those calamities to which I now perceive you exposed. I retract my former resolution. I offer myself as your mediator, and will exert my mediation with that energy which becomes the powerful nation in whose name I speak. Five days after reception of the present declaration, the senate shall assemble at Berne, to nominate three deputies to be sent to Paris, and each canton will also be admitted to send delegates thither. All citizens who have held public employments during the last three years may also appear at Paris to deliberate by what means may best be effected the restoration of concord and the reconciliation of parties. Every rational man must perceive that my purposed mediation is a blessing conferred on Switzerland by that Providence, which, amidst so many concurring causes of social dissolution, has always preserved your national existence and independence. It would be painful to think that destiny had singled out this epoch, which has called to life so many new republics, as the hour of destruction to one of the oldest commonwealths in Europe."

The Helvetic senate instantly replied to this announcement, by declaring that it received, with lively gratitude, this new proof of the friendly dispositions of the first consul, and would conduct itself in all points in conformity with his wishes. In a proclamation, addressed to the Helvetic people, after some allusion to the mighty and uplifted arm of the mediator, it recommended union, tranquillity, and calm expectation. The cantonal diets met to elect deputies to Paris. The several communes also were permitted to dispatch delegates thither at their own expense. The mandate of Napoleon, and the presence of his soldiers, induced conflicting parties to suspend their hostilities, and tacitly, at least, to acquiesce in his mediation, as they could come to no agreement with each other.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE ACT OF MEDIATION TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

Act of Mediation.—Its Effects.—Fall of Napoleon.—Declaration of Neutrality by the Swiss Diet.—Proclamation of Prince Schwartzberg.—Austrian Invasion.—Congress of Vienna.—Recognition of the XXII Cantons.—Switzerland a Party to the Holy Alliance.—Foreign Police.—Surveillance of the Press.—Revival of the Jesuits.—Education, etc.—Conclusion.

On the 10th of December, 1803, Swiss delegates were received in the office of foreign affairs at Paris, to hear a note of Bonaparte read, in which he addressed them as president of the French and Cisalpine republics, and laid down the basis of his intended mediation. "A federal constitution," he said, "is a point of prime necessity for you. Nature herself has adapted Switzerland for it. What you want is an equality of rights among the cantons, a renunciation of all family privileges, and the independent federative organization of each canton. The central constitution may be easily arranged afterwards. The main points for your people are neutrality, promotion of trade, and frugal administration: this is what I have always said to your delegates, when they asked my advice; but the very men who seemed to be the best aware of its truth, turned out to be the most obstinately wedded to their privileges. They attached themselves, and looked for support, to the enemies of France. The first acts of your insurgents were to appeal to the privileged orders, annihilate equality, and insult the French people. No party shall triumph; no counter-revolution take place. In case of violation of neutrality, your government must decide upon making common cause with France."

On the 12th, Bonaparte received a select number of the Swiss deputation, to whom he farther addressed himself as follows:—"The only constitution fit for Switzerland, considering its small extent and its poverty, is such a one as shall not involve an oppressive load of taxation. Federalism weakens larger states by splitting their forces, while it strengthens small ones by leaving a free range to individual energies." He added, with an openness peculiar to great characters, and unequivocally indicative of good-will, "When I make any demand of an individual, he does not often dare to refuse it; but if I am forced to apply myself to a crowd of cantonal governments, each of them may declare itself incompetent to answer. A diet is called: a few months' time is gained; and the storm blows over."

Almost every word of the first consul during these negotiations has historical value. Most of his expressions wear a

character of greatness; all of them afford a clue to the system on which he acted. One or two passages, taken at random here and there, will suffice for a specimen. "It is the democratic cantons which distinguish you, and draw on you the eyes of the world. It is they which do not allow the thought of melting you up with other states to gain any coherence or consistency. The permission to settle wherever they please, in pursuit of their vocation, must be extended to all natives of Switzerland. The small cantons are said to be averse to this principle; but who on earth would ever think of troubling them by settling amongst them? France will reopen a source of profit in favor of these poorer cantons, by taking additional regiments into her pay. France will do this, not because she needs additional troops, but because she feels an interest in attaching these democracies."

The *Act of Mediation*, which resulted from these conferences, restored the old federative system; but not without introducing very considerable improvements. The amnesty announced by it precluded all persecutions, and the new agitations necessarily arising from them. All servitude and all privilege were abolished; while equality of rights and freedom of industry were established. The mischievous freedom formerly enjoyed by the several cantons of entering into hostilities or alliances against each other, was quite put an end to. In future, they could only use their arms against the common enemy; and the objects of the whole league could no longer be frustrated by the humors of its individual members.

The dissolution of the Helvetic general government followed naturally on the completion of the above-mentioned arrangements; and soon afterwards Napoleon recalled his troops from Switzerland. The people, in almost every part of the country, returned quietly to their usual occupations, and tendered their allegiance to the new order of things. In the canton of Zurich alone, several communes refused the oaths; complaining of the difficulties newly thrown in the way of the redemption of tithes, ground-rent, and other burdens. They would listen to no friendly representations; but committed acts of violence on unoffending functionaries; set fire to the castle of Wädenschwyl; and finally took to arms. The prolonged disorders of former years had accustomed them to lawless self-defence; but the insurrection was soon suppressed by the aid of the neighboring cantons, combined with the well-affected part of the Zurichers. The ringleader, John James Willi, a shoe-maker in the village of Horgen, and others of his more conspicuous comrades, were punished with death. The less distinguished rioters suffered imprisonment, and forty-two offending communes were visited with a war-tax of above

200,000 florins. It was well that the first flame of revolt was speedily extinguished, before it had time to spread itself through the country. Parties remained everywhere unreconciled; and each imagined nothing to be required for their predominance but the fall of the new order of things. The friends of Helvetic unity still murmured at the cantonal partition of the country. The monasteries murmured as they felt their existence threatened; and Pankratius, the *ci-devant* abbot of St. Gall, openly stigmatized the inhabitants of that district as contumacious vassals of the empire. Many of the country people murmured, who wished for *landsgemeinde*, on the model of the original cantons. Many patrician and city families murmured that their privileges were swept away, and the peasantry no longer their subjects. The majority of the people, however, wished for nothing but peace and quiet, and decidedly adhered to the existing order of things, and the rights which they had acquired under that order.

Thus the peace of the country remained for the most part undisturbed; and a series of comparatively prosperous years followed. The energies of the Swiss had been awakened by the years of revolution and of civil war, and displayed themselves in a hitherto unprecedented degree. They no longer stood apart from each other as formerly, like strangers; but had been made better acquainted by the storms of social collision. The concerns of each canton were now interesting to all. Journals and newspapers, which had formerly been suppressed by timid governments, instructed the people in useful knowledge, and drew its attention to public affairs. The Swiss of all the cantons formed societies for the furtherance of objects of common utility; for the encouragement of various arts and sciences, and for the maintenance of concord and patriotism. The canal of the Linth formed a lasting monument of this newly reawakened public spirit.

Since the people had ceased to be viewed as in a state of perpetual infancy, a new impulse was given to trade and industry, which were now no longer cramped and confined, as formerly, by corporate restrictions and monopolies. The participation in public affairs allowed to all free citizens enforced a mild and equitable conduct on the governments. Schools were increased and improved throughout the country; the military force was newly organized; and, on the whole, a greater number of laudable objects were provided for in the space of ten years, than had been thought of in the previous century.

When the throne of Napoleon sunk under the power of the allies, the public-spirited part of the Swiss nation fondly imagined that the hour was come in which their country's honor

and independence might be established on a firmer footing than ever. To preserve the benefits gained to the land by his act of mediation was the wish of a large majority of the people. If the Swiss had sometimes felt, along with others, the iron arm of that formidable despot, (who had, however, spared them more than any neighboring population,) yet his gift of a constitution had become deservedly dear to them. It had dried up innumerable sources of discord. Under it a fellow-feeling, never before experienced, had been diffused in the same degree as individual pride had been humbled. The cessation of a state of subjection, wherever it had before existed, had decupled the number of confederates, and all restraints on free communication betwixt one canton and another had been removed.

The cantons sent their contingents for the protection of the frontiers, voted extraordinary imposts for their maintenance, and a diet was assembled at Zurich with unanimous instructions from its constituents. This body declared with one voice its resolution "to observe a conscientious and impartial neutrality with regard to all the high belligerent powers," expressing, at the same time, its full anticipation that "the same would be acknowledged upon their part." It addressed itself as follows to the confederates:—"The great and only end of all our endeavors is to maintain this neutrality by every means in our power; to protect our country's freedom and independence; to preserve its soil inviolate, and to defend its constitution." The senate of Berne expressed itself as follows:—"Our object is to guard the pacific borders of our country inviolate from the march of foreign armies; we are unanimously resolved, however, at all events, to maintain tranquillity, order, and security in our canton by all the means which stand in our power."

Such was the general sense of the Swiss people. Not such, however, was the sense of the great families in the once dominant towns of the confederation. Many of these wished to see their country invaded by foreign armies, by aid of which they hoped to restore the old league of the thirteen cantons, with all its hated appendages of sovereignty and servitude, which had vanished from the face of the land in 1798.

The Swiss delegates were received in a friendly manner by the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia; but no direct recognition of their neutrality was vouchsafed to them. The satellites of these monarchs gave them distinctly to understand that Switzerland was regarded and would be treated as nothing else than as a limb of the French system. A large Austrian force was collected on the frontiers, particularly in the neighborhood of Basle; yet many still believed that a de-

terminated vindication of neutrality would not be put down by violence. In the mean time, the Swiss delegates were stopped at Freyburg in Brigau on their return homewards from Frankfurt, and their letters were intercepted. A general enervation seemed to have spread itself over the conduct of the affairs of the confederation at this crisis. There is no ground for supposing that the men who led their forces, and presided in their governments, acted the part of secret conspirators against the order of things which they professed to defend. But when the overwhelming powers of the allies came pouring in upon them; when these were joined by kings who owed their crowns to Napoleon; when even the French ambassador dissuaded reinforcement of the frontier cordon; when, in short, the ancient state of things renewed its sway on every side; while a decided popular will showed itself nowhere; opposition was in a manner overwhelmed by the force of circumstances.

A proclamation, couched in terms of mildness and of amity, was issued by prince Schwartzberg, the Austrian commander-in-chief; and at the same time count Capo d'Istria declared on his arrival in Zurich, that "the monarchs could not recognize a neutrality which, in the existing situation of Switzerland, must be nothing more than nominal. The armies of the allied powers hoped to find none but friends there. Their majesties pledged themselves solemnly not to lay down their arms until they should have secured the restoration to Switzerland of the territories wrested from her by France—(a pledge which we shall presently see was adhered to but indifferently.) They disclaimed all wish of meddling with her internal constitution; but at the same time could not allow her to remain under foreign influence. They would recognize her neutrality from that day forth in which she became free and independent."

The Austrian army marched over the Rhine on the 21st of December, 1813, through the territories of Basle, Aargau, Soleure, and Berne, into France. During the first months of the following year the burdens, and even the dangers of war, were felt very severely in the northern and western parts of Switzerland, particularly in Basle, which received much annoyance from the obstinate defence of Huningen, and the hostile disposition of the commander of that place. Geneva, too, while she welcomed in anticipation the new birth of her ancient independence, saw herself suddenly surrounded with the actual horrors of warfare, and threatened with a regular siege. The continual passage of large bodies of troops brought malignant fevers and maladies in their train, and it became more and more difficult to supply them with provisions.

On the entrance of the Austrian troops, Berne set the example of abolishing the act of mediation, and reclaimed the restoration of the predominance which she had previously enjoyed in the Helvetic body. The example was followed first by Soleure and Freyburg, and then by Lucerne. In Zurich, too, the diet declared the act of mediation, by virtue of which it was sitting, null and void, and drew up a plan for a new confederation of the nineteen cantons. But this was not enough for some of the men in power at that time, who demanded nothing short of the restoration of the old league of the thirteen cantons, and had already summoned the Pays de Vaud and the Aargau to return under the government of Berne. These cantons, however, resolutely rejected the proposal.

The diet, which was again convoked at Zurich, and consisted of delegates newly elected by all the nineteen cantons, was now the only feeble bond which kept the Helvetic body together. Interested voices were raised on every side for annihilating or mutilating the last constructed cantons, which for sixteen years had enjoyed the boon of freedom and independence. Zug demanded a part of its former subject lands from the Aargau; Uri the Val Levantina from the canton of Tessin; Glarus the district of Sargans from the canton of St. Gall; the prince abbot Pancrace his former domains and sovereignties in the Thurgau; Schwytz and Glarus combined to demand compensation for their privileges over the districts of Uznach, Gaster, Wesen, and Ersatz; Unterwalden, Uri, and Schwytz, united in a similar demand for compensation for the sovereign rights which had formerly been possessed by them in Aargau, Thurgau, St. Gall, and on the Tessin.

In these cabals and commotions Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhausen displayed the least of prejudice or passion; while the Aargau and the Vaud showed themselves worthy of their freedom by the spirited resolution of their people. In the lands and towns of Basle, Soleure, and Zurich, it was proposed to espouse the cause and rally round the standard of the Aargau. Berne, however, avoided open hostilities, and even offered to recognize the independence of the Vaud on certain conditions, which were rejected by the latter. Aargau now made menacing demonstrations, and a dangerous ferment showed itself in the Oberland. Here, as in many other places, the jealousy and suspicion of the various parties came into play, in proportion as discussion was broached on the limits to be assigned to the rights of the people and their governments. News were daily received of scattered plots and insurrections, of imprisonments and banishments, in various places. The town of Soleure called for the protection of a Bernese garrison against the threatened attacks of its own people. Swiss troops were

precipitately dispatched to the banks of the Tessin to prevent the breaking out of civil war; while other troops were sent into the canton of St. Gall to put an end to a scene of absolute confusion.

While Switzerland was thus given up to a state of such disquietude, that blood had already flowed in more than one district, and the jails of several towns were filled with prisoners, the plenipotentiaries of the great powers were sitting in congress at Vienna, to establish the peace of Europe on a durable foundation. The allies had already allowed the addition to the Helvetic body of Geneva, as well as of the Valais, and the Prussian principality of Neuchâtel. Swiss delegates made their appearance with equal promptitude in the imperial metropolis on the Danube, as they had done eleven years before in the capital of France. But the politics of Europe moved no faster at Vienna than those of Switzerland did at the diet of Zurich. No settlement of Swiss affairs had been made, when the sudden news of Napoleon's landing from Elba, and his triumphal march through France, awakened European diplomacy once more from its slumbers. The diet called to arms the half contingent of 15,000 men for the defence of the frontiers. Two battalions of the Vaud were detached hastily to Geneva, and the same canton received as friends and comrades the troops of Berne, against which it had taken up arms a month before. The most important elements of discord seemed to have disappeared—the most inveterate enemies to be reconciled.

On the 20th of March, 1815, the definitive arrangements of the allied powers were promulgated. The existing nineteen cantons were recognized, and the increase of their number to two-and-twenty confirmed, by the accession of Geneva, Neuchâtel, and the Valais. The canton of Vaud received back the Dapenthall, which had been taken from it by France. Bienne and the bishopric of Basle were given to Berne by way of compensation for its former sovereign rights over the Vaud. One moiety of the customs received in the Val Levantina was assigned to Uri; the prince abbot Pancrace, and his *ci-devant* functionaries, were indemnified with 8000 florins yearly. A decision was also given on the indemnification of those Bernese who had possessed jurisdictions in the Pays de Vaud and on many other points in dispute. The complaints of the Grisons alone were disregarded—Chiavenna, the Valteline, and Bormio, which had now become the property of Austria, were neither restored, nor any compensation for them given, notwithstanding the clause to the contrary in prince Schwartzberg's proclamation.

The cantons now remodelled their respective constitutions

in the midst of agitations of all kinds. Those in which the supreme power is assigned to the *landsgemeinde* for the most part removed the restrictions on the popular prerogative, which had been introduced by the act of mediation, and approximated anew to pure democracy. In the city cantons, the capitals recovered, though in various modifications and proportions, a preponderance in the system of representation. Even in these privileged places, however, many friends of the public weal remained true to the conviction tried and proved by past experience (and about to receive after no long period additional confirmation from the march of events), that participation of the lesser towns and rural districts in public functions was a requisite condition for the permanence of tranquillity; and that the members introduced from these remoter parts of the country would form vigorous roots of the slender stem of authority, and fix them wide and deep in a republican soil.

From 1815 till 1830 no political movements of any extent or importance disturbed the outward semblance of repose in the Helvetic body. In 1817, the confederates were led by the invitation of the emperor Alexander into a signal deviation from the policy of their forefathers. They entered into a close alliance with Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and allowed themselves to be mixed up with the system of the great powers, by giving their adhesion to the Holy Alliance, unmindful of the lessons left by the Swiss of old times, whom the whole force of the empire could not frighten into the *petticoat league*. But the new alliance held itself destined to higher ends than that of Swabia, although in both perhaps the high contracting parties went to work with equal singleness of purpose. The holy alliance aimed at nothing less than the attainment of the loftiest ends of the purest cosmopolitanism!—the realization of that perpetual peace which had hitherto been regarded as a fugitive thought of Henry IV., or as a philanthropic vision of the abbé St. Pierre.

On the conclusion of the war of liberation from Napoleon, an opinion which the allied powers had encouraged by their promises became prevalent through great part of Germany—that the efforts of the people should be requited by the grant of representative constitutions. The realization of this object was pursued by open and secret means, which soon aroused attention and mistrust on the part of the governments. Investigations were set on foot, which were followed up by penal inflictions; and many of the accused parties made their escape into Switzerland. A similar course was taken by some Italians, on the suppression of the Piedmontese revolts, and the abortive revolution of Naples. Natives of France, moreover, who had given offence to their government, either by repub-

lican principles, or by adherence to the cause of Napoleon, in like manner sought a place of refuge in Switzerland. These occurrences did not fail to give umbrage to several cabinets, which was increased by the friendly welcome and assistance afforded to the fugitives from Greece. It never seemed to occur to foreign potentates, what a blessing in the vicissitudes of European affairs was the existence of a land to which political victims of all parties might resort as an inviolable sanctuary.

The year 1823, which, it will be remembered, was that of the French invasion of Spain under Louis XVIII. seemed an epoch of especially unfriendly dispositions in more than one European court against Switzerland. There were personages who would willingly have used these dispositions to effect some limitation of Helvetic independence; but their influence was either insufficient for that purpose in the cabinets to which they belonged, or Europe seemed *as yet* not ripe for success in such an experiment. Meanwhile the remonstrances and demands of continental powers afforded matter of anxious consultation to the Helvetic diet; and their usual subjects of discussion were increased by two new topics,—*foreign police*, and *surveillance of the press*.*

It was resolved that both these points touched the prerogatives of the separate cantons, and therefore did not admit of decision at any general diet. An invitation was accordingly issued to the governments of all the cantons, exhorting them to adopt vigorous measures, in order that nothing might find its way into newspapers and journals inconsistent with proper respect to friendly governments. With regard to *foreign police* it was proposed to take measures for preventing the entrance or residence of such strangers as had left their country on account of crimes, or efforts at disturbance of the public repose; and for providing that no foreigners should be admitted except such as could show certificates or passports from their respective governments.

In many of the cantons these demands were met by a ready alacrity, not only to urge their execution in their full extent, but even to improve on them by subjecting discussion of *domestic* as well as of foreign affairs to strict surveillance. On the other hand, in more enlightened parts of the confederacy, it was thought that public discussion and the old right of sanctuary should be guarded from every species of encroachment. The diets continued to busy themselves with deliberations on both subjects. Returning tranquillity diminished the uneasiness of the cabinets; and, by consequence, their inquisitive

* See the Appendix.

and minute attention to Switzerland. Individuals lost the importance which had formerly been ascribed to them, and the sojourn of strangers in Switzerland again became freer. The press occasioned more prolonged discussions at the diets and in several of the councils; but in the midst of these it obtained more and more freedom, and in some districts shook off all its former restrictions.

During these years an interest in church affairs diffused itself amongst laymen, as well as amongst theologians by profession. In the educated classes, religious indifferentism became less frequent; while the genuine spirit of tolerance made progress. This tendency, like every other widely extended mental movement, had its questionable as well as its pleasing features. Shocking ebullitions of fanaticism are reported to have taken place in Zurich, Berne, and other cantons. A footing was gained in Freyburg and the Valais by the revived order of jesuits; and the friends of human improvement could not regard, without anxiety, their influence in ecclesiastical matters, and in education.

In the latter department much has been done in every part of Switzerland, though much still remains to be desired. Those restrictions of the chairs in universities and academies to the natives of particular localities, which formed so complete a counterpart to the old corporation privileges, have come to an end in almost all the principal towns of Switzerland; where foreigners, or Swiss of other cantons, hold a distinguished place at the head of learned establishments. Many branches of knowledge, once neglected, have been diffused and perfected. The name of Pestalozzi has obtained deserved celebrity throughout all Europe, and even beyond its limits, as well on account of the practical improvements which he made in particular parts of elementary instruction, as of the impulse which he gave to the cause of general education. The culture of the mind and the soil are both indebted to Fellenberg, whose agricultural establishments, besides their direct utility, have been above all efficacious, by attracting the attention of the educated classes, and giving a scientific direction to husbandry, which is equally distinct from that of mere routine as of mere theory. The removal of former restrictions has encouraged the progress of industry, and the spirit of invention and enterprise.

Such was the course of affairs up to the memorable year 1830, when the mere vibration of those mighty explosions, which shook the social atmosphere from Paris to Warsaw, brought the popular masses in Switzerland down on her half-renewed aristocracies, like the avalanche, which the slightest sound precipitates on her valleys. The constitutional changes

introduced in the cantons have not yet acquired sufficient consistence to come within the province of history ; nor is a Swiss revolution now an event of European interest.* The fate of empires no longer waits the arbitrement of Alpine shepherds ; and the masses of modern warfare laugh to scorn individual heroism. But the triumphs of peace are yet reserved for Switzerland : *her* standard shows the *trois couleurs* of EDUCATION, ECONOMY, INDUSTRY ;

"AND OF THAT EMPIRE THERE SHALL BE NO END."

* See the Appendix.

APPENDIX.

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THE dignity of history, it is hoped, will not be offended by the insertion here of a ballad, entitled "*The Count of Hapsburg*," translated from the German of Schiller, as it affords a pleasing version of the legendary ornaments with which popular tradition loved to grace the rise of its hero. Tschudi, who has furnished the foundation for it, further relates, that the priest, to whom this incident with Rudolph occurred, afterwards became chaplain to the archbishop of Mentz; and, at the first imperial election which followed the interregnum, contributed not a little to turn that prelate's thoughts on the count of Hapsburg:—

'Twas at his crowning festival,
Rob'd in imperial state,
In Aix-la-Chapelle's ancient hall
The good king Rudolph sate.
His viands bore the Palatine,
Bohemia serv'd the sparkling wine,
And all th' Elective Seven*
Lowly the lord of earth surround,
As the glorious sun is girt around
With his starry choir of heaven.

Crowds from the high balcony gaze
In joy tumultuous pressing,
And mix with the mounting hymns of praise
Full many a murmur'd blessing:
For ended at last are the crownless years,
With their harvest of ruin, of blood and tears,
Earth owns a judge once more.
Ended at last is the reign of steel;
No more the feeble dread to feel
The gauntlet-grasp of power.

And the Kaiser uplifts his goblet bright,
As he speaks with blithesome voice:—
"Fair is the feast, and proud the sight;
Mine heart might well rejoice:

* The seven princes who exercised the right of giving, or selling, the empire, were the archbishops of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne, the elector palatine, Brandenburg, Bohemia, and Saxony.

Yet miss I the minstrel, the bringer of pleasure,
 The soother of hearts with his magic measure,
 The teacher of love divine.
 So I have held in my youthful prime,
 And the lessons I learn'd in my knightly time
 As Kaiser shall still be mine."

In long-flowing robe, through the courtly crew,
 The Minstrel's form appears;
 His locks are bleach'd with a silver hue,
 With the fullness of wasting years.
 "Sweet melody sleeps in the golden strings;
 The minstrel of love and its guerdon sings,
 He sings of the Highest, the Best,
 Of all ye can covet with heart or eye;
 But say what may sort with the majesty
 Of my Kaiser's crowning feast."

"I rule not the singer," was Rudolph's word,
 "Nor reck's he of earthly power;
 He stands in the right of a greater Lord,
 And obeys the inspiring hour.
 As the storm-wind sweeps through the midnight air,
 One knows not from whence it is borne, or where;
 As the springs from a soundless deep;
 So the minstrel's song from his bosom swells,
 Our feelings to wake, where in inmost cells
 Of the heart they strangely sleep."

Sudden and strong the Minstrel plays,
 And rapidly flows his strain:—
 "A valiant knight to the chamois chase
 Rode forth across the plain,
 Him follow'd his squire with his hunting-gear;
 When a tinkling sound accosts his ear
 On a meadow's gentle marge:
 'Twas the sacring bell that moved before,
 And a priest, who the Savior's body bore,
 Came next with his hallow'd charge.

And the Count to earth has bow'd him low,
 His head all humbly bare,
 The faith of a Christian man to show
 In him our sins who bare.
 But a brooklet brawl'd o'er the meadow-side,
 High swell'd by the Giessbach's rushing tide,
 The wanderer's path it stay'd;
 And softly he laid the host adown,

And swiftly he doff'd his sandal-shoon,
The brawling brook to wade.

"Now whither away?" the Count began,
And he cast a wondering glance.
"Sir knight, I haste to a dying man,
For heavenly food who pants:
And here, as I sought my wonted way,
The stepping-stones all have been torn away
By the Giessbach's whirling force.
Thus, lest a soul salvation miss,
The brook with naked foot, I wis,
Behoves me now to cross."

But the Count set him up on his knightly steed,
And reach'd him the bridle gay,
That he fail not to solace a sinner's need,
Nor the holy rite delay.
Himself rode forth on the horse of his squire
To share in the chase at his heart's desire.
The other his way pursued,
And thankfully came with morning red,
And humbly back by the bridle led
To the knight his courser good.

"Now saints forbend," said that noble knight,
"I should e'er bestride him more,
In reckless chase, or heady fight,
My Savior's self that bore!
Mayest thou not make the good steed thine own,
I freely devote him to God alone;
I give it to Him who gives
To man, his bond-slave, breath and blood,
And earthly honor, and earthly good;
In whom he moves and lives."

"O, then, high Heaven, whose watchful ear
Inclines to the poor man's vow,
To thee give honor above and here,
As Him thou hast honor'd now!
Thou noble count, whose knightly brand
Widely hath waved in Switzerland,
Seven daughters fair are thine:
Each shall enrich thine ancient stem
With the dower of a kingly diadem,
Sent down to the latest line."

The brow of the Kaiser is bent in thought,
 As he dream'd of distant years,
 Till the eye of that aged bard he caught,
 And the sense of his song appears.
 He recalls the face, so long unseen,
 And veils his tears with his mantle sheen:
 'Tis the priest himself is here!
 All eyes are turn'd on their silent lord,
 All know the knight of the Giessbach's ford,
 And the hand of Heaven revere.

PAGE 61.

A STORY very similar to the Swiss legend of Tell is related in the Danish annals by Saxo Grammaticus; in which Harold king of Denmark supplies the place of the land-vogt Gessler, Toko that of William Tell; and this event, which is said to have happened in 965, is attended also with nearly the same incidents as those recorded in the Swiss accounts. It is far from being a necessary consequence (as is very justly observed in Cox's Travels,) that because the authenticity of the story concerning the apple is liable to some doubts, *therefore* the whole tradition relating to Tell is fabulous. Neither is it a proof against the reality of a fact, that it is not mentioned by contemporary historians. The general history of William Tell is repeatedly celebrated in old German songs, so remarkable for their ancient dialect and simplicity, as almost to raise the deeds they celebrate above all reasonable suspicion: to this may be added the constant tradition of the country, together with two chapels erected some centuries ago in memory of his exploits. The following is the passage from Saxo Grammaticus:—

“Nec silentio implicandum quod sequitur. Toko quidam aliquandiu, regis (i. e. Haraldi Blaatand) stipendia meritis officiis quibus commilitones superabat complures virtutum suarum hostes effecerat. Hic forte sermone inter convivas temulentius habito tam copioso se sagittandi usu callere jactitabat, ut pomum quantumcunque exiguum baculo e distantia superpositum primâ spiculi directione feriret. Quæ vox primum obtreptantium auribus excepta regis etiam auditum attigit. Sed mox principis improbitas patris fiduciam adfilii periculum transtulit, dulcissimum vitæ ejus pignus baculi loco statui imperans. Cui nisi promissionis auctor primo sagittæ conatu pomum impositum excussisset, proprio capite inanis jactantiæ pœnas lueret. Urgebat imperium regis militem majora promissis edere, alienæ obtreptationis insidiis parum sobriæ vocis jactum carpentibus.

“Exhibitum Toko adolescentem attentius monuit, ut æquis auribus, capiteque inflexo quam patientissime strepitum jaculi venientis exciperet, ne lævi corporis motu efficacissimæ artis experientiam frustra-

retur. Præterea demendæ formidinis consilium circumspiciena, vultum ejus, ne viso telo terreretur, avertit. Tribus deinde sagittis pharetrâ expositis prima quam nervo inseruit proposito obstaculo incidit.

“Interrogatus autem a rege Toko cur plura pharetræ spicula detraxisset, cum fortunam arcus semel duntaxat experimento prosequi debuisset. ‘Ut in te,’ inquit, ‘primi errorem reliquorum acumine vindicarem, ne mea forte innocentia poenam tui impunitatem experiretur violentia.’ Quo tam libero dicto et sibi fertitudinis titulum deberi docuit, et regis imperium poenâ dignum ostendit.”

PAGE 228.

THE following passage, on the Règlement of 1782, is translated from “*Meiners' Briefe über die Schweiz*,” an interesting series of letters on Switzerland, published shortly before the French revolution :—

“Even if the edict of 1781 had produced much greater advantages than it actually did produce, yet still we cannot blame the representative party for regarding it as the offspring and the instrument of despotism : it was not left to the free choice of the citizens whether they would or would not accept a legislation which was to bind themselves and their posterity for ever, but the ambassadors of the guarantying powers excluded, as a preliminary step, from the conseil général to which the edict was to be submitted, all those who had taken up arms on the 8th of April, or in the sequel ; and thus, in that general assembly in which the new edict was confirmed, hardly a third of the burghers were present who had the right of voting on the validity or invalidity of new laws. In the edict itself the most important rights were withdrawn from the people, or, at all events, subjected to restriction. What, however, gave the burghers greater pain than all these losses was their total disarming, the abolition of the circles of the burgher militia, and all the civic exercises which had hitherto been the most joyous popular festivals. Finally, in order to enchain the mind as well as the body, all speaking and writing on public affairs was forbidden, and a garrison of 1000 men was introduced, which, instead of being billeted on the burghers, was to live in separate barracks, as in fortresses. All the *useful* rights of the burghers were extended to the natives, and the senate was allowed the freedom of giving strangers, under the name of domiciliés, allowance to settle for a year in Geneva, and to carry on mechanical trades, and other private vocations.”

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General view of the Thirteen Cantons, Subject Bailiwicks, and Confederated States, as they existed from the Peace of Aarau up to the French Revolution.

I. The Cantons.						
	Square Miles.	Population.	Contingent of Troops.	Form of Government.	Religion.	Language.
1. Zurich -	676	175,000	1,400	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
2. Berne - -	3,840	374,000	2,000	Aristocratic	Protestant	{ German & French
3. Lucerne -	544	100,000	1,200	Aristocratic	Catholic	German
4. Uri - - -	550	26,000	400	Democratic	Catholic	{ German & Italian
5. Schwytz -	326	23,000	600	Democratic	Catholic	German
6. Unterwalden }	179	23,500	400	Democratic	Catholic	German
7. Zug - - -	102	20,000	400	Democratic	Catholic	German
8. Glarus -	336	16,000	400	Democratic	Mixed	German
9. Basle - -	160	40,000	400	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
10. Freyburg	467	73,000	800	Aristocratic	Catholic	{ German & French
11. Soleure -	288	45,000	600	Aristocratic	Catholic	German
12. Schaffhausen }	128	30,000	400	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
13. Appenzell	256	51,000	600	Democratic	Mixed	German
Totals - -	7,852	996,500	9,600			

The greatest part of the materials for compiling these tables have been collected from Durand's *Statistique Elémentaire de la Suisse*. The measures of extent, which, in foreign authors, are generally given in German miles, 15 to a degree, are here reduced to geographical miles, 60 to a degree.—V. Planta, *Hist. Switz.* iii. 117.

II. *The Subject Bailiwicks.*

	Square Miles.	Popula- tion.	Conti- nent of Troops.	Sovereigns.	Religion.	Language.			
1. Thurgau	266	60,000	500	VIII. Old Cantons	Mixed	German			
2. Rheinthal	84	13,000	200	Ditto with Appenzell	Mixed	German			
3. Sargans	148	12,000	300	VIII. Old Cantons	Mixed	German			
4. Gaster	149	9,000	—	Schwytz and Glarus	Catholic	German			
5. Uznach									
6. Gambs	8	5,000	—	Zurich and Berne	Catholic	German			
7. Rappers- wyl									
8. Baden	138	24,000	200	Zurich, Berne, and Glarus	Mixed	German			
9. Upper free Bailiwicks	85	20,000	300	VIII. Old Cantons, Zurich, Berne, and Glarus	Catholic	German			
10. Lower free Baili- wicks									
11. Bremgar- ten	—	5,000	—	Zurich, Berne, and Glarus	Catholic	German			
12. Mellin- gen									
13. Schwart- zenberg	150	40,000	—	Berne, and Freyburg	Catholic	{ German German & French German & French French			
14. Morat					Protestant				
15. Granson					Protestant				
16. Orbe and Echallens	110	33,000	—	Uri, Schwytz, and Unter- walden	Mixed				
17. Bellin- zona					Catholic				
18. Riviera, or Polesè	205	53,000	400	All the can- tons, ex- cept Ap- penzell	Catholic	Italian			
19. Val di Blenzo									
20. Lugano	263	30,000	200	All the can- tons, ex- cept Ap- penzell	Catholic	Italian			
21. Locarno	158	24,000	100						
22. Val Mag- gia									
23. Men- drisio	67	16,000	100						
Totals	1831	344,000	2400						

III. <i>Confederated States.</i>						
	Square Miles.	Population.	Contingent of Troops.	Form of Government.	Religion.	Language.
I. ASSOCIATES.						
Abbey of St. Gall.						
a. Alte Landschaft . . .	124	45,000	1000	Monarchic limited monarchy	Catholic	German
b. Töckenburg	188	46,000		Aristo-democratic	Mixed	German
2. City of St. Gall . . .	—	8,300	200		Protestant	German
3. Town and territory of Bienne . . .	144	5,500	200	Mono-aristocratic	Protestant	German
4. Mülhausen	—	8,000	—	Democratic	Protestant	German
II. ALLIES.						
1. Grison leagues }	2,304	150,000	—	Democratic	Mixed	German & Romansch
Their subject provinces }	960	100,000	—	Monarchical	Catholic	Italian
2. The Valais	1,280	100,000	—	Six dixaines democratic One dixaine aristocratic	Catholic	French and German
3. Neuchâtel and Valengin . . .	240	40,500	—	Mono-aristocratic	Protestant	French and German
4. Geneva . . .	88	34,000	—	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	French
5. Part of the bishopric of Basle allied to the cantons . . .	106	94,000	—	Mono-aristocratic	Protestant	French
III. SOVEREIGNTIES UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE FOREST CANTONS.						
1. Abbey of Engelberg . . .	28	4,500	—	Monarchical	Catholic	German
2. Gersau . . .	—	1,000	—	Democratic	Catholic	German
Totals . . .	5,462	566,800	1,400			
Totals in the whole confederation }	15,145	1,907,300	13,400			

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M. Thiers, in his *History of the French Revolution*, has criticised the opinion which prevailed in 1799, and which attached extreme importance to the occupation of Switzerland in warlike operations on a grand scale :—

“ On pensait alors,” he says, “ que la clef de la plaine était dans les montagnes. La Suisse, placée au milieu de la ligne immense sur laquelle on allait combattre, paroissait la clef de tout le Continent. La France, qui occupait la Suisse, semblait avoir un avantage décisif. Il semblait qu’en ayant les sources du Rhin, du Danube, du Pô, elle en commandât tout le cours. C’était là une erreur : on conçoit que deux armées qui appuient immédiatement une aile à des montagnes, comme les Autrichiens et les Français, quand ils se battaient aux environs de Vérone, ou aux environs de Rastadt, tiennent à la possession de ces montagnes, parceque celle des deux qui en est maîtresse peut déborder l’ennemi par les hauteurs. Mais quand on se bat à cinquante ou cent lieues des montagnes, elles cessent d’avoir la même influence. Tandis qu’on s’épuiserait pour la possession du St. Gothard, les armées qui seraient sur le Rhin, ou sur le Bas Pô auraient le temps de décider du sort de l’Europe. Mais on concluait du petit au grand ; de ce que les hauteurs sont importantes sur un champ de bataille de quelques lieues, on en concluait que la puissance maîtresse des Alpes, devait l’être du Continent. La Suisse n’a qu’un avantage réel ; c’est d’ouvrir des débouchés directs à la France sur l’Autriche, et à l’Autriche sur la France. On conçoit dès lors que pour le repos des deux puissances et de l’Europe, la clôture de ces débouchés soit un bienfait. Plus on peut empêcher les points de contact et les moyens d’invasion, mieux on fait ; surtout entre deux états qui ne peuvent se heurter sans que le Continent en soit ébranlé. C’est en ce sens que la neutralité intéresse tout l’Europe, et qu’on a toujours bien fait d’en faire un principe de sûreté générale.”

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The following were the definitive measures adopted with respect to foreigners :—

“ Art. 1. No foreigner shall fix his legal residence in any canton, unless he have previously obtained permission.

“ 2. Every foreigner is obliged to give notice to the police, within twenty-four hours after his arrival in the canton.

“ 3. Foreigners who after their arrival in the canton shall desire to remain more than three weeks, shall apply to the director-general of police, at the Alien-office.

"4. Foreigners who shall reside in the canton without being authorized shall be sentenced to pay a fine of 500 florins, and to two months' imprisonment.

"5. Keepers of furnished hotels, innkeepers, and householders, who shall have lodged foreigners without permission, shall be liable to a fine of 1000 florins, and to three months' imprisonment; in case of a repetition of the offence, the penalty shall be doubled."

The decree on the printing of political writings comprises the following articles:—

"Art. 1. No person shall sell, or cause to be printed, without the previous license of the council of state, works relative to foreign policy.

"2. This license shall not be given, till the MS. has been examined, to see if it contains any thing reprehensible. In both cases, it must be signed by the author and the printer, and deposited in the chancery.

"3. The author, printer, or bookseller, who shall transgress this order shall be brought before the tribunal, where they may be condemned to a fine of 1000 florins, and a year's imprisonment. The penalty may be increased, according to the contents of the writing, as the seriousness of the circumstances may require."

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It has not entered into our plan to particularize every petty rising which has recently taken place in the towns or rural districts of Switzerland, and the recital of which would not even possess the sanguinary interest which distinguishes the peasant insurrection of the seventeenth century. It may, however, conduce to the purposes of historical instruction, to mark the leading points of view in one or two of those districts, the fortunes of which have chiefly claimed our attention in the past, and in which the continuance, or interruption, of former modes of being forms the most interesting, as well as instructive, feature in the present.

Geneva, during nearly the whole course of the eighteenth century, has been already described as laboring under incessant agitation; occasioned by the arrogance of a class of moneyed oligarchs, confronted with the growing force of an active and turbulent commonalty; and terminated only towards the close of that century in the agonies of social dissolution. All the evils exhibited on more conspicuous theatres, arising from an obstinate monopoly of political power, broke forth within the narrow bounds of this Lilliputian commonwealth, with all the aggravations of those evils which are wont to result from hostile and external interference. Hence the insulting *règlement* of 1782, when the grasping spirit of native aristocracy was encouraged in its

all-engrossing claims by foreign bayonets. Hence also the reign of terror in 1794, when French support, which had previously been given to the oligarchs, was transferred to the scale of the democratic party. It is some consolation to those who would fain believe in the progress of their species, that the crash of those enormous fortunes which, previously to the first revolution, were chiefly invested in French public securities, and the fall of that 'patrician' dynasty, solely maintained by French influence, have been attended by the total disappearance of their concomitant ostentation and assumption; while the terrible experience of all parties has effectually softened their irrational embitterment. In the recent revolutionary changes which have occurred in Switzerland, Geneva has been amongst the places wholly exempt from disturbance. The constituted authorities there wisely took the initiative of such constitutional changes as the temper of the times required, by voluntarily conceding an extension of the elective franchise, and an abridgment of the tenure of public offices.

The comparison of Geneva with Berne affords a striking instance of the difference between overweening oligarchy and pure aristocracy. In the former state, what was more revolting than any practical grievance was aristocratic *morgue*, combined with purse-proud ostentation. In the latter, that systematic repression of popular development, inherent in the nature of aristocracy, was accompanied at least with much of the dignified and paternal aspect with which philosophical minds have often invested that austere domination. Of such a government Montesquieu might truly have called moderation *the soul*—such might have found an approver in Dion, an eulogist in Plato. In Berne, at least equally with Venice, economy, prudence, and self-dependence held paramount sway; pauperism, and consequent vice, were extirpated with unwearied care; and the popular respect was secured by forbearing to swell the public burthens. In Berne alone could a law have been regarded as *truly aristocratic*,* which enforced equal division of the paternal estate amongst the children.

Not unrewarded by long esteem and permanence was the upright aristocracy of Berne; and truly has it been stated by an eminent burgher of that canton,† with regard to its first overthrow in 1798, that the revolution did not find development *from within*. "Without the aggression of hostile armies," (we still translate from the same authority), "the sound block of the old building would long have remained standing, and would have kept its decayed outworks standing along with it. It is true that fermentation pervaded the Vaud, as well as several districts in the interior; but matters would not have gone so far without French intervention. The German subjects of Berne, un-

* Ein wahrhaftig aristokratisches Gesetz."—Meiners, *Briefe über die Schweiz*. 1er Theil.

† See Schlosser's *Archiv für Geschichte und Litteratur*, 2er Band, p. 394.

moved by the insinuations of French emissaries, fought resolutely, not to say furiously. They deemed themselves invincible, as of old, confiding in the protection of God and their own personal strength, unfortunately of too little account in modern warfare. Incendiary suggestions found no entrance, so long as their authors stuck to preaching freedom and equality; but so soon as it occurred to them to ascribe the errors of government, and such military evolutions as to common men were inexplicable, to a secret understanding of their rulers and officers with the French, the popular rage instantly took a new direction against their leaders, as supposed secret adherents of the newfangled notions of freedom; and horrible scenes ensued, which hastened the hour of dissolution."

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